

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

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AN ELEMENTARY
OLD ENGLISH GRAMMAR
(EARLY WEST SAXON).

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AN ELEMENTARY
OLD ENGLISH GRAMMAR

(EARLY WEST SAXON)

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syntax; but I am strongly of opinion that for the present such aid is best given in notes on selected texts. For the rest, it is unnecessary to enlarge on the methods of exposition here devised or adopted, or to make the reviewer's task easy by calling attention to the principal innovations. The ultimate appeal as to the arrangement, the methods, the necessity, and the utility of the work will be to the experience of readers and students; and their counsel and co-operation are cordially asked, for its correction and improvement.

My obligations to Sweet are a part of our national debt to him as a pioneer in English philology. My indebtedness to Sievers is obvious and well-nigh inestimable. I have made abundant use of Cosijn's *Altwestsächsische Grammatik*, an incomparable storehouse of examples. My warmest thanks are hereby tendered to Prof. Napier, whose timely advice and assistance have often encouraged me in the studies of which this book is the outcome; to a lady, whose name I am not permitted to mention, for reading the proof-sheets with equal acumen and care; to Mr B. J. Hayes, M.A., of St John's College, for giving me the benefit of his great experience in all that is meant by "seeing through the press"; and to the officials of the University Press, who have spared neither trouble nor expense in meeting my wishes, for example in banishing (I hope for ever) the italic digraph æ, indistinguishable from œ, and having the elegant character x specially cast for this book.

A. J. W.

CAMBRIDGE,
March, 1897.

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ABBREVIATIONS, ETC.

- OE. Old English.
EWS. Early West Saxon.
LWS. Late West Saxon.
> becomes, became, becoming, passes into,
< (is) derived from, etc.
∞ alternating with.
* indicates a prehistoric form.

TO

C. W.

PARADIGMS.

Some such plan of work as the following is recommended to the beginner. (1) Study the paradigms given below. (2) By their aid work your way through the earlier extracts, or the whole, of the companion *Old English Reader*. (3) Continue your reading side by side with the systematic study of the large print of, first the *Accidence*, then the *Phonology*. (4) Work carefully through the whole book again, small and large print, making all the cross references.

STRONG NOUNS.

	Masc.	Neut.		Fem.	
			<i>Singular.</i>		
<i>Nom.</i>	stān, <i>stone</i>	scip, <i>ship</i>	word, <i>word</i>	giefu ¹ , <i>gift</i>	lār ¹ , <i>law</i>
<i>Acc.</i>	stān	scip	word	giefe	lāre
<i>Gen.</i>	stānes	scipes	wordes	giefe	lāre
<i>Dat.</i>	stāne	scipe	worde	giefe	lāre

Plural.

<i>N. Acc.</i>	stānās	scipu ¹	word ¹	giefu, -e	lāra, -e
<i>Gen.</i>	stāna	scipa	worda	giefa	lāra
<i>Dat.</i>	stānum	scipum	wordum	giefum	lārum

¹ See § 9.

WEAK NOUNS.

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
	<i>Singular.</i>		
<i>Nom.</i>	guma, <i>man</i>	ēage, <i>eye</i>	heorte, <i>heart</i>
<i>Acc.</i>	guman	ēage	heortan
<i>Gen.</i> ^r	guman	ēagan	heortan
<i>Dat.</i>	guman	ēagan	heortan
	<i>Plural.</i>		
<i>N. Acc.</i>	guman	ēagan	heortan
<i>Gen.</i>	gumena	ēagena	heortena
<i>Dat.</i>	gumum	ēagum	heortum

ADJECTIVES.

I. STRONG FORM.

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
	<i>Singular.</i>		
<i>Nom.</i>	til, <i>good</i>	gōd, <i>good</i>	tilu ¹ gōd ¹
<i>Acc.</i>	tilne	gōdne	tile gōde
<i>Gen.</i>		tiles gōdes	tilre gōdre
<i>Dat.</i>		tilum gōdum	tilre gōdre
<i>Instr.</i>		tile gōde	
	<i>Plural.</i>		
<i>N. Acc.</i>	tile gōde	tilu ¹ gōd ¹	tila, -e gōda, -e
<i>Gen.</i>		tilra gōdra	
<i>Dat.</i>		tilum gōdum	

¹ See § 9.

PARADIGMS.

ADJECTIVES (*continued*).

II. WEAK FORM (*after demonstratives*).

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.	
	<i>Singular.</i>			<i>Plural.</i>
<i>Nom.</i>	gōda	gōde	gōde	gōdan
<i>Acc.</i>	gōdan	gōde	gōdan	
<i>Gen.</i>				gōdra
<i>Dat.</i>				gōdum

PRONOUNS.

"I"

	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Dual.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
<i>Nom.</i>	ic	wit	wē
<i>Acc.</i>	mē	unc	ūs
<i>Gen.</i>	mīn	uncer	ūre
<i>Dat.</i>	mē	unc	ūs

"Thou"

<i>Nom.</i>	ōū	git	
<i>Acc.</i>	ōē	inc	ēow
<i>Gen.</i>	ōīn	incer	ēower
<i>Dat.</i>	ōē	inc	ēow

"He"

"It"

"She"

"They"

	<i>Singular.</i>			<i>Plural.</i>
<i>Nom.</i>	hē	hit	hēo	hīe
<i>Acc.</i>	hine	hit	hīe	
<i>Gen.</i>		his	hiere	hiera
<i>Dat.</i>		him	hiere	him

PRONOUNS (*continued*)“[^]The,” “that.”

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.	
	<i>Singular.</i>			<i>Plural.</i>
<i>Nom.</i>	sē	ðæt	sēo	}
<i>Acc.</i>	ðone	ðæt	ðā	
<i>Gen.</i>		ðæs	ðære	
<i>Dat.</i>		ðæm	ðære	
<i>Instr.</i>		ðȳ		

“This”

		<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
<i>Nom.</i>	ðes	ðis	ðeos	}
<i>Acc.</i>	ðisne	ðis	ðās	
<i>Gen.</i>		ðisses	ðisse	ðissa
<i>Dat.</i>		ðissum	ðisse	
<i>Instr.</i>		ðȳs		

‘Who?’

‘What?’

	Masc.	Neut.
	<i>Singular.</i>	
<i>Nom.</i>		
<i>Acc.</i>	hwone	hwæt
<i>Gen.</i>		hwæs
<i>Dat.</i>		hwæm
<i>Instr.</i>		hwȳ

PARADIGMS.

VÉRBS.

I. STRONG.

	Present	Past
	<i>Indicative.</i>	
<i>Sing.</i> 1.	helpe, <i>help</i>	healp
2.	hilpst	hulpe
3.	hilpð	healp
<i>Plur.</i>	helpað	hulpon
	<i>Subjunctive.</i>	
<i>Sing.</i>	helpe	hulpe
<i>Plur.</i>	helpen	hulpen
	<i>Imperative.</i>	
	help (<i>sg.</i>), helpað (<i>pl.</i>)	
	<i>Infinitive.</i>	
	helpan, <i>dat.</i> tō helpanne	
	<i>Participles.</i>	
	helpende	geholpen

Principal Parts of Strong Verbs.

<i>Class</i>	<i>Infin.</i>	<i>3rd Sing.</i>	<i>Past Sing.</i>	<i>Past Pl.</i>	<i>Past Part</i>
I.	scīnan, <i>shine</i>	scīnð	scān	scinon	scinen
II.	crēopan, <i>creep</i>	criepð	crēap	crupon	cropen
IIIa.	helpan, <i>help</i>	hilpð	healp	hulpon	holpen
IIIb.	drincan, <i>drink</i>	drincð	dronc	druncon	druncen
IV.	beran, <i>bear</i>	birð	bær	bāron	boren
V.	tredan, <i>tread</i>	tritt	træd	trædon	treden
VI.	faran, <i>fare</i>	færð	fōr	fōron	faren

PARADIGMS.

VERBS (*continued*).

II. WEAK.

(1) *-an* Verb. (2) *-ian* Verb.

PRESENT *Indicative*.

<i>Sing.</i> 1.	dēme, <i>judge</i>	lōcie, <i>look</i>
2.	dēm(e)st	lōcast
3.	dēm(e)š	lōcaš
<i>Plur.</i>	dēmaš	lōciaš

PRESENT *Subjunctive*.

<i>Sing.</i>	dēme	lōcie
<i>Plur.</i>	dēmen	lōcien

PAST *Indicative*.

<i>Sing.</i> 1.	dēmde	lōcode
2.	dēmdest	lōcodest
3.	dēmde	lōcode
<i>Plur.</i>	dēmdon	lōcodon

PAST *Subjunctive*.

<i>Sing.</i>	dēmde	lōcode
<i>Plur.</i>	dēmden	lōcoden

Imperative.

<i>Sing.</i>	dēm	lōca
<i>Plur.</i>	dēmaš	lōciaš

Infinitive.

dēman	lōcian
-------	--------

Participles.

<i>Pres.</i>	dēmende	lōciende
<i>Past.</i>	gedēmed	gelōcod

PARADIGMS.

VERBS (*continued*).

III. "To be."

	Present		Past
	<i>Indicative.</i>		
<i>Sing.</i> 1.	eom	bēo	wæs
2.	eart	bist	wære
3.	is	bið	wæs
<i>Plur.</i>	sind(on)	bēoð	wæron
	<i>Subjunctive.</i>		
<i>Sing.</i>	sīe	bēo	wære
<i>Plur.</i>	sīen	bēon	wæren
	<i>Imperative.</i>		
	wes, wesað bēo, bēoð		
	<i>Infinitive.</i>		
	wesan	bēon	
	<i>Participles.</i>		
	wesende	bēonde	wanti

ELEMENTARY OLD ENGLISH GRAMMAR.

PART I. INFLECTION.

Introductory.

1. The position of Old English in the family of languages to which it belongs can best be shown by means of a genealogical table :



The dialects of Old English are thus seen to be four, of which the most important is West Saxon, because almost the

whole of the extant remains of Old English literature has come down to us in that dialect. It is not the direct parent, but rather, as it were, the uncle, of Modern English, in tracing the ancestry of which through West Saxon we therefore deflect from the straight line of descent. But this disadvantage is compensated by the ampleness of West Saxon materials in comparison with the meagreness of the remains of Old Mercian. Northumbria and Mercia were peopled principally by Angles: hence 'Anglian' is often used as a common name for the Northumbrian and Mercian dialects, which were in many respects similar.

Old English literature belongs chiefly to two periods: the Northumbrian period, in the 7th and 8th centuries, to which belong nearly all the great monuments of Old English poetry; and the West Saxon period, from the 9th to the 11th century, the classical period of Old English prose. But, although the best of our early poetry was composed in Northumbrian, it must be remembered that it has been handed down to us in West Saxon transcriptions, containing however not infrequent traces of its origin in the retention of Anglian forms of words.

2. Old English was the language spoken by the Teutonic inhabitants of England before the Conquest (and for a short time after). In the title of this book the name "Old English" has been used, for convenience' sake, as synonymous with "(Early) West Saxon dialect." West Saxon before about the year 900 A.D., or the close of Alfred's reign, is known as Early West Saxon; after about 950 A.D. it is called Late West Saxon. Late West Saxon shows numerous signs of inflectional decay, especially in the assimilation of inflections, before the Norman Conquest. Early West Saxon is therefore the purest form of Old English of which sufficient remains for grammatical study are extant. From an elementary text-book such as this the other dialects are almost entirely excluded, as beyond its aim and scope. Strictly speaking, then, Old English is the collective name for the Teutonic dialects spoken in England before the Conquest; but it is often conveniently used as the name for the earlier and purer form of the classical West Saxon.

The chief distinguishing marks of the various Old English dialects are these:

(1) **West Saxon** represents Germanic \bar{a} (West Germanic \bar{a}) by \bar{a} , the other dialects by \bar{e} ; it accurately discriminates *ea* and *eo*; it lost the sound of \bar{a} early; it replaces the -u, -o, of the first person singular present indicative by -e. The distinguishing mark of **Early West Saxon** is that the *i*-mutation of *ea* and *eo* is *ie*, and that of $\bar{e}a$ and $\bar{e}o$ is \bar{ie} , passing into **Late West Saxon** *i* or *y*, and \bar{i} or \bar{y} , respectively. Some special forms and inflections peculiar to **Late West Saxon** will be found in the paragraphs of this grammar.

(2) **Northumbrian** (from which **Mercian** does not greatly differ) drops final *n*; frequently terminates the 3rd person singular and the whole of the plural present indicative in *s*, instead of \bar{s} ; confuses *ea* and *eo* (short and long); has a liking for the \bar{a} sound (short and long); and has its inflections unsettled earlier than the other dialects.

(3) **Kentish** prefers *ia*, *io* to *ea*, *eo*; vocalises *g* into *i* (e.g. *dæi* for *dæg*); and substitutes *e* for *y*.

Alphabet and Pronunciation.

3. The Old English alphabet consisted of the following characters: a, æ, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, (k,) l, m, n, o, p, r, s, t, þ, \bar{s} , u, \bar{v} (= w), x, y. k is occasionally found for c. This alphabet is both defective and redundant.

(1) It is redundant in the letter *x*, which stands for *cs* (*ks*) or *hs*.

(2) It is defective in having no special symbol for: (a) the sound of the semi-vowel *j*, which is represented sometimes by *i*, much oftener by *g*; (b) the sound of short open e^1 (printed \bar{e} in this book), and the sound of short open o^1 (printed \bar{o} in this book); (c) the voiced (sonant, flat, soft) sounds corresponding to *f*, *s*, *þ*, i.e. the sounds usually represented in modern English by *v*, *z*, *th* in *thine* (= dh). Moreover, *c*, *g*, *sc* and *h* represent both guttural and palatal sounds.

¹ Modern English has only the open sounds of short *e* and short *o*. See § 4.

N.B. **I-mutation**¹ and **Breaking**.

(1) The vowels produced by *i*-mutation are *i*, *e* (æ), *æ*, *ie*, *īe*, *ē*, *y*, *ȳ*, of which those printed **black** are in every instance in EWS. (with unimportant exceptions) produced by *i*-mutation.

(2) Breaking includes the change of *a* to *ea* and *e* to *eo* before *r* + consonant, *l* + consonant, *h* + consonant, or *h* final.

Full details are given in Part II.

4. Pronunciation.—N.B. *Every letter in Old English must be fully sounded, whatever its position.*

The vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* in Old English had what may be called their “continental,” or Italian, sound.

<i>a</i>	=	the <i>a</i> in	answer, only shorter.
<i>ā</i>	=	<i>a</i>	father
<i>æ</i>	=	<i>a</i>	man
<i>ǣ</i>	=	<i>a</i>	care
<i>e</i> (close)	=	<i>é</i>	<i>Fr.</i> épais.
<i>e</i> (open)	=	<i>e</i>	men
<i>ē</i>	=	<i>ey</i>	they
<i>i</i>	=	<i>i</i>	pin
<i>ī</i>	=	<i>i</i>	machine
<i>o</i> (close)	=	<i>o</i>	<i>Ger.</i> Gott
<i>o</i> (open)	=	<i>o</i>	not
<i>ō</i>	=	<i>o</i>	note
<i>u</i>	=	<i>u</i>	put
<i>ū</i>	=	<i>u</i>	rule
<i>y</i>	=	<i>u</i>	<i>Ger.</i> hübsch, <i>Fr.</i> ultérieur
<i>ȳ</i>	=	<i>u</i>	<i>Ger.</i> grün, <i>Fr.</i> voiture.

If the values of *e*, *o*, *y*, *ȳ*, assigned above cause much difficulty the values of *e*, *o*, *i*, *ī*, may be substituted for them for a time.

¹ “Mutation” and “mutated” are frequently used in the following pages with reference to *i*-mutation only.

The diphthongs of Old English are *ea*, *eo* (*io*), *ie*, short and long. The stress falls on the first element, which in *ea* is the open sound, and in *eo* the close sound, of *e*.

The pronunciation of the consonants *b*, *d*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *r*, *t*, *w*, *z*, does not differ materially from that of modern English.

mod. *k*
 g in *get*.

These two letters (and *h*), as has been said, had both a guttural and a palatal sound, and *g* was also both a spirant and a stop. But, as it is hardly possible for the beginner to decide for himself which sound they had in a particular word, it seems best, at least at this stage, to adopt one value for each letter (a practice which some eminent scholars never depart from, except for phonetic exposition)¹.

N.B. *cg* = *gg* (< *gj*): ex. *lecgan*, to lay.

h, (1) initial, is a mere aspirate, as in English *hard*: exs. *hē*, he; *hlūd*, loud; (2) medial and final, is a voiceless spirant, like the *ch* in Scotch *loch* (guttural), or the *ch* in Ger. *ich* (palatal): exs. *hēah*, high; *nīht*, night.

f, *s*, *þ*, *ʃ* are (1) *voiceless* (surd, sharp, hard) whenever possible, i.e. always when initial, always when final, and when medial in voiceless company (i.e. in company with another voiceless consonant): exs. *fōd*, food; *hors*, horse; *sīðan*, since; (2) *voiced* when medial between voiced sounds (vowels, liquids, nasals, voiced consonants): exs. *ofer*, over; *hālsian*, to greet; *wiðinnan*, within.

It would be convenient to appropriate *þ* for the voiceless sound, *thin* *thin*, and *ʃ* for the voiced sound, *dh* in *thine*, as in Icelandic; but Old

¹ The author is confirmed in this opinion by the hopeless confusion that results from the attempt to expound this matter fully in what are professedly elementary text-books. Sievers comes to the conclusion that Old English *g* was most frequently a voiced spirant, but his proofs seem inconclusive for initial *g*. In any case, the voiced spirant *g* is a sound not only foreign to modern English, but one difficult for English people to acquire. To say, as is usually done, that it is the sound of *g* in Ger. *sagen*, is to ignore that the *g* in *sagen*, on the stage and in North Germany generally, is a voiced stop.

English MSS. afford no justification for this usage. In printing texts it is usual to follow the MSS. exactly. Throughout this book the sign *ð* is alone used; it came into use much earlier than *þ*, and is found almost exclusively in the best of the older MSS.

5. Stress.—The chief stress, or syllabic accent, usually falls on the *first syllable* of Old English words: ex. *hlāford*, lord.

Exceptions. (1) In derivative verbs, the principal stress falls almost invariably on the root, not on the prefix: ex. *āriſan*, to arise.

(2) In nouns and adjectives compounded with *ge-*, *be-* and sometimes *for-*, the chief stress falls on the radical syllable, not on the prefix; but in the case of other prefixes, the stress falls on the prefix: ex. *geféra*, companion; *behāt*, promise; but *ŋndlēan*, requital.

NOUNS.

6. Gender.—The modern English system of gender is unknown to Old English, in which the names of things are masculine, feminine or neuter. There are two ways which enable us to determine the gender of many nouns.

(1) By *meaning*. Names of males are masculine; names of females are feminine; names of young creatures (because their sex is less easily distinguishable) are neuter: ex. *se cyning*, the king; *sēo cwēn*, the queen; *ðæt cild*, *bearn*, the child. **Exceptions:** *ðæt wīf*, the woman; *ðæt mægden*, the girl.

(2) By *termination*. (a) Nouns ending in *-a*, *-að*, *-els*, *-end*, *-ere*, *-dōm*, *-hād*, *-scipe*, *-stafas*, names of persons in *-ing* and *-ling*, and compounds ending with a masculine word, are masculine. (b) Nouns ending in *-estre*, *-nes*, *-ræden*, *-ŷ* (except *-að*), *-ung* (*-ing*), and compounds ending with a feminine word, are feminine. (c) Nouns ending in *-ern*, *-rice*, *-lāc*, and compounds ending with a neuter word, are neuter.

7. **Cases.**—Old English has the following cases: Nominative, Accusative, Genitive, Dative, Instrumental. The Nominative serves also as a Vocative. The Instrumental in *nouns* never differs in form from the Dative, and it is therefore omitted in the noun paradigms.

8. **Strong and Weak.**—Every noun in Old English belongs to either the strong or the weak declension; a few have both strong and weak forms: as, *monn*, *monna*, man. (On the other hand, almost all adjectives may be declined both strong and weak: see § 41.)

A glance at the paradigms will show that it is easy to distinguish weak nouns and adjectives from strong, except in the nom. sing. and dat. plural. All weak nouns end in a vowel in the nom. sing.:

(1) All nouns ending in *-a* are weak masculines.

(2) Weak fems. and neuters end in *-e*, all but a few short-stemmed fems. in *-u*. But by no means all nouns ending in *-e* or *-u* are weak. Fems. in *-e* are weak.

9. **Loss of final e and u.**—The simple practical rule is this (great attention should be paid to it, for it covers a large number of instances): *Final e (earlier i) and u are generally retained after a short syllable, dropped after a long syllable*¹. The applications of this rule are numerous and important.

(1) Original short *i*-stems retain final *-e*, while long stems drop it: cp. *wine*, friend, *spere*, spear, with *giest*, stranger, *bēn*, boon.

(2) The nom. sing. of fem. nouns and the nom. plur. of neuter nouns of the ordinary declension retain final *-u* after a short syllable, drop it after a long syllable. Cp. *giefu*, gift, with *spræc*, speech; and *scipu*, ships, with *hūs*, houses. Cp. also the modern plurals *deer*, *sheep*, *swine*.

¹ A syllable is long if it has a long vowel or if it ends in two consonants.

(3) Exactly the same rule applies to the fem. sing. and neuter plural of adjs.: cp. fem. sing. and neut. pl. *tihu*, useful, with *gōd*, good.

(4) The same rule applies to disyllabic nouns and adjs.: -u is generally retained after a short second (or even third) syllable. Exs.: *rice*, realm, pl. *ricu*; *hēafod*, head, pl. *hēaf(o)du*; *grēne*, green, fem. sing. and neut. pl. *grēnu*; *æðele*, noble, *æðelu*.

Exceptions. (a) After two short syllables there is a good deal of irregularity. Thus *fīren* (fem.), crime, has no final u; the fem. sing. and neut. pl. of *micel*, great, and *mōnig*, many, are *micel*, *mōnig*, but also *mic(e)lu*, *mōnigu*; the pls. of *mægen* and *wæter* are *mægenu*, *wæt(e)ru*.

(b) Late West Saxon texts not only break the rules of this and the next section, but show almost every possible grammatical irregularity. For this reason only the more frequent and important variations of Late West Saxon from Early West Saxon will be noticed in this book.

10. Loss of middle vowels.—Some disyllabic nouns and adjectives with a short second syllable, such as *ēðel*, native land, *dēofol*, devil, *ōðer*, second, syncopate the middle vowel in inflection according to the following

Rule: When a termination beginning with a vowel is added to a disyllable, whose first syllable is long and second syllable short, the vowel of the second syllable is usually dropped. Thus:

<i>ēðel</i> , native land, long + short,	gen. <i>ēðles</i> ,	not <i>ēðeles</i> .
<i>lȳtel</i> , little, long + short,	gen. <i>lȳtles</i> ,	not <i>lȳteles</i> .
<i>heofon</i> , heaven, short + short,	gen. <i>heofones</i> ,	not <i>heofnes</i> .
<i>hærfæst</i> , autumn, long + long,	gen. <i>hærfæstes</i> ,	not <i>hærfstes</i> .

N.B. It is obvious that the above rule cannot apply when the flectional syllable begins with a consonant. Thus we have acc. masc. sing. *ōðerne*, gen. pl. *lȳtelra*.

Exceptions. (a) *Micel*, great, *yfel*, evil (both short + short), syncopate the middle vowel in inflection: thus, gen. *micles*, *yfles*, dat. *miclum*, pl. *yf(e)lu* (see below).

(b) When the above rule and that given in § 9. 4 both apply to the same word, the above rule may or may not be observed: thus we find nom. pls: *hēaf(o)du*, *dēoflu*, *earfōðu*, *bismru*, *īd(e)lu* (neut.).

11. Intrusive vowels.—Old English words ending in consonant + vocalic liquid or nasal often introduced a vowel before the liquid or nasal, making the latter into a distinct syllable, as in *fugol*, bird (Gothic *fugls*). This intrusive vowel was usually *e* when the preceding vowel was palatal, most often *o* when the preceding vowel was guttural¹: exs. *æcer*, field; *bēacen*, beacon; *ātor*, poison. These words for the most part conform to the rule laid down in § 10: thus we have gen. *wintres* from *winter* (long + short), but *fægeres* from *fæger* (short + short).

Exception: *fugol*, bird, gen. *fugles*, pl. *fuglas*.

In the following words the second vowel is intrusive:

<i>æppel</i> , <i>apple</i>	<i>tāc(e)n</i> , <i>token</i>	<i>fōdor</i> , <i>fodder</i>
<i>tempel</i> , <i>temple</i>	<i>wæp(e)n</i> , <i>weapon</i>	<i>hlūtor</i> , <i>pure</i>
<i>māðum</i> , <i>treasure</i>	<i>ceaster</i> , <i>city</i>	<i>hungor</i> , <i>hunger</i>
<i>bēacen</i> , <i>beacon</i>	<i>clūstor</i> , <i>prison</i>	<i>wundor</i> , <i>murvel</i>
<i>fāc(e)n</i> , <i>treachery</i>	<i>finger</i> , <i>finger</i>	etc.

12. Variation of middle vowels.—The *o* or *u* of the second syllable of a word tends to become *e* whenever a third (flexional) syllable containing a *guttural* vowel is added. This law is well illustrated by the declension of such a noun as *heofon*:

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Nom. heofon</i>	<i>Gen. heofones</i>	<i>Dat. heofone</i>
<i>Plur.</i>	<i>heofenas</i>	<i>heofena</i>	<i>heofenum.</i>

Similarly we find *staðol*, pillar, gen. *staðoles*; but pl. *staðelas*, and the verb *staðelian*, to establish. Cp. also the past sing. *lōcode* with the past. pl. *lōcedon*.

The explanation of this change is to be sought partly in the weakening of the stress on the second syllable, partly in a tendency to alternate palatal and guttural vowels.

a, *o*, *u* are guttural vowels, all others are palatal.

13. Loss of consonants.

(1) *Loss of medial h.* When a final *h* becomes medial in inflection it is dropped.

(a) If between liquid and vowel, there is compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel: exs. *nearh*, horse, gen. *mēares*, pl. *mēaras*: *holh*, hole, gen. *hōles*, &c.; cp. *fēolan*, penetrate, < **fēolhan*.

(b) If between vowel and vowel, contraction (see § 154) results: ex. *scōh*, shoe, pl. *scōs*; *eoh*, horse, gen. *ēos*.

(2) *Simplification of final double consonant.* The simplification of a double final consonant is usual in Old English, whether the geminate was original or arose from earlier consonant + *j*¹. Yet the etymological spelling is also not infrequent.

Thus we have:

(a) in the ordinary masc. declension (§ 16),

<i>Nom.</i>	<i>Gen.</i>	<i>Pl.</i>
weal(l), wall	wealles	weallas, etc.
dyn(n), din	dynnes	dynnas

(b) in the ordinary neuter declension (§ 20),

ful(l), cup	fulles	ful(l)
cyn(n), race	cynnes	cyn(n)

(c) in the ordinary fem. declension (§ 26),

heal(l), hall	healle	healla,-e
bēn(n), wound	bēnne	

and similarly

hēn(n), <i>hen</i>	sib(b), <i>kinship</i>
nyt(t), <i>profit</i>	syn(n), <i>sin</i> .

(d) The same thing is seen in adjs. (§ 43), in the imperative sing. of verbs (e.g. *gecier* from *gecierran*), and elsewhere.

Exception. Final *cg* (= *gg*) is never simplified: *sæg*, man; *hrycg*, back.

¹ Double consonant < consonant + *j* can usually be known by the preceding mutated vowel. In West Germanic, every consonant (except *r*) doubled before *j* after a short vowel (see § 168).

14. Endings.—The following table gives the commonest endings in the declensions of **strong** masc., fem., and neuter nouns respectively :

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
	<i>Singular.</i>		
<i>Nom.</i>			(u)
<i>Acc.</i>			e
<i>Gen.</i>	es		e
<i>Dat.</i>	e		e
	<i>Plural.</i>		
<i>N. Acc.</i>	as	(u)	a (e)
<i>Gen.</i>	a		
<i>Dat.</i>	um		

NOTES. (1) The gen. pl. of strong nouns invariably ends in -a (rarely -ena); of weak nouns in -ena; of all adjs. in -ra.

(2) The dat. pl. of all nouns and adjs. ends in -um (other forms of which are -un, -on, -an).

15. Declensions.—The declensions of OE. nouns are arranged as follows for the sake of simplicity and convenience :

I. Strong Nouns :

Ordinary Declension : 1. Masculines.

2. Neuters.

3. Feminines.

All genders { (i) *W*-stems.
(ii) *J*-stems.
(iii) *I*-stems.

Minor Declensions : 4. *U*-stems.

5. *R*-stems.

6. *ND*-stems.

7. Other stems.

II. Weak Nouns.

DECLENSIONS.

I. STRONG NOUNS.

ORDINARY DECLENSION¹.—1. MASCULINES.

16. Primary paradigms: *stān*, stone; *hierde*, (shep)herd.

Singular.

<i>N. Acc.</i>	<i>stān</i>	<i>hierde</i>
<i>Gen.</i>	<i>stānes</i>	<i>hierdes</i>
<i>Dat.</i>	<i>stāne</i>	<i>hierde</i>

Plural.

<i>N. Acc.</i>	<i>stānas</i>	<i>hierdas</i>
<i>Gen.</i>	<i>stāna</i>	<i>hierda</i>
<i>Dat.</i>	<i>stānum</i>	<i>hierdum</i>

NOTES. (1) *Stān* is an original *o*-stem (i.e. corresponds to the Latin and Greek *o*-declensions), *hierde* an original *jo*-stem (see § 33). There is no difference in inflections (final *-e* is invariably elided before a termination beginning with a vowel); but traces of the original *j* of *hierde* are seen in the final *-e* and in the mutated vowel of the root.

(2) Locatives, without inflection, are seen in

<i>tū-dæg, to-day</i>	<i>ælcæ dæg, each day</i>
<i>tō-morgen, to-morrow</i>	<i>æt hām, at home</i>
<i>tō, from his āgnum hām, to, from his own home</i>	

¹ The arrangement of declensions here adopted is a compromise between a complete ignoring of the original stems, which are often obscured beyond recognition in Old English—a method which has the disadvantage of not leading on and up to the study of cognate and earlier languages; and, on the other hand, an undue multiplication of declensions (according to stems), which in Old English sometimes differ only in a single case or form. *W*-stems, *j*-stems and *i*-stems, which differ in inflection from the ordinary declension, are given in §§ 32—34; all the rest are included here.

- (3) *Sǣ* (Gothic *saiws*), sea, is both masc. and fem. :

	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
<i>N. Acc.</i>	sǣ	sǣs, sǣ
<i>Gen.</i>	sǣs, sǣ, sǣwe	sǣwa
<i>Dat.</i>	sǣ, sǣwe	sǣ(u)m, sǣwum

17. Secondary Paradigm. *Dæg*, day, returns to the original root-vowel in the plural (as explained in Part II., § 100).

	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
<i>N. Acc.</i>	dæg	dagas
<i>Gen.</i>	dægcs	daga
<i>Dat.</i>	dæge	dagum

NOTES. (1) In the same way are declined

hwæl, <i>whale</i>	pæð, <i>path</i>
stæf, <i>staff</i>	

(2) *Mæg*, kinsman, with a long vowel, is similarly declined (see § 105), but the vowel of the singular sometimes invades the plural :

	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
<i>N. Acc.</i>	mæg	māgas, mægcs
<i>Gen.</i>	mægcs	māga
<i>Dat.</i>	mæge	māgum, mægum

18. Secondary Paradigm. *Bridel*, bridle, will serve as a model of the syncopated declension, the rule for which is given in § 10 :

	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
<i>N. Acc.</i>	bridel	brīdlas
<i>Gen.</i>	brīdles	brīdla
<i>Dat.</i>	brīdle	brīdlum

In the same way are declined all disyllabic masculines with the first syllable long and the second short.

19. Secondary Paradigm. *Mearh*, horse (see § 13):

	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
<i>N. Acc.</i>	<i>mearh</i>	<i>mēaras</i>
<i>Gen.</i>	<i>mēares</i>	<i>mēara</i>
<i>Dat.</i>	<i>mēare</i>	<i>mēarum</i>

Decline in the same way *fearh*, swine; *seolh*, seal; *Wealh*, Welshman, foreigner.

ORDINARY DECLENSION.—2. NEUTERS.

20. Primary paradigms:

- (a) Long monosyllable: *word*, word.
 (b) Short „ : *hof*, dwelling.
 (c) Disyllables : *wite*, punishment; *sife*, sieve.

Singular.

<i>N. Acc.</i>	<i>word</i>	<i>hof</i>	<i>wite</i>	<i>sife</i>
<i>Gen.</i>	<i>wordes</i>	<i>hofes</i>	<i>wites</i>	<i>sifes</i>
<i>Dat.</i>	<i>worde</i>	<i>hofe</i>	<i>wite</i>	<i>sife</i>

Plural.

<i>N. Acc.</i>	<i>word</i> (§ 9. 2)	<i>hofu</i> (§ 9. 2)	<i>witu</i> (§ 9. 4)	<i>sifu</i> (§ 9. 4)
<i>Gen.</i>	<i>worda</i>	<i>hofa</i>	<i>wita</i>	<i>sifa</i>
<i>Dat.</i>	<i>wordum</i>	<i>hofum</i>	<i>witum</i>	<i>sifum</i>

NOTES. (1) In deciding which paradigm a neuter noun follows, *prefixes must be ignored*: thus, *behāt*, promise, is declined like *word*.

(2) *Word* and *hof* are original neuter *o*-stems, *wite* an original *jo*-stem (see § 33), and *sife* an original *i*-stem (see § 34). There is no difference in inflection; but the *-e* of the nom. sing. is a trace of the original stem of the last two words.

(3) For the *-u* of the nom. acc. plural, *-o*, *-a* are not infrequent: *witu*, *wita*.

(4) The declension of *geat*, *gate*, is

	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
<i>N. Acc.</i>	geat (§ 143)	gatu (§ 100)
<i>Gen.</i>	geates	gata
<i>Dat.</i>	geate	gatum

But we also find plural *geatu*, *geata*, *geatum*, where the vowel of the singular has been extended to the plural.

21. Secondary paradigm : *fæt*, vessel.

	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
<i>N. Acc.</i>	fæt (cp. § 17)	fatu (§ 100)
<i>Gen.</i>	fætes	fata
<i>Dat.</i>	fæte	fatum

Decline in the same way

bæð, <i>bath</i>	swæð, <i>track</i>
dæl, <i>dale</i>	træf, <i>tent</i>

22. Secondary paradigm (syncopated) : *hēafod*, head.

	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
<i>N. Acc.</i>	hēafod	hēaf(o)du (§§ 9, 10)
<i>Gen.</i>	hēafdes (§ 10)	hēafda
<i>Dat.</i>	hēafde	hēafdum

NOTES. (1) Decline in the same way disyllabic neuters with long first and short second syllable ; cp. § 18.

(2) **Exceptions.** Neuters in *-en*, like *clīewen*, ball, *nīeten*, animal, *māden*, maiden, where the *e* is not intrusive (as it is in *bēacen*, *fācen*, *tācen*, *wāpen*, § 11), are not syncopated : gen. *nīetenes*, *mādenes* ; dat. *clīewene* ; pl. *nīetenu*, etc.

(3) Several neuters with intrusive vowels have two noms. plural, with and without *-u* : *tungol*, star, pl. *tungh* and *tungol* ; *wundor*, marvel, pl. *wundru*, *wundra*, and *wundor* ; *wāp(e)n*, pl. *wāp(e)nu*, *wāpeno*, and *wāp(e)n* ; *tāc(e)n*, pl. *tācnu* and *tācen*.

23. Secondary paradigms: *feorh*, life; *feoh*, money.*Singular.*

<i>N. Acc.</i>	<i>feorh</i>	<i>feoh</i>
<i>Gen.</i>	<i>fēores</i> (§ 13)	<i>fēos</i> (§ 13)
<i>Dat.</i>	<i>fēore</i>	<i>fēo</i>

Plural.

<i>N. Acc.</i>	<i>feorh</i>
<i>Gen.</i>	<i>fēora</i>
<i>Dat.</i>	<i>fēorum</i>

Like *feorh*, decline *holh*, hole, gen. *hōles*; like *feoh*, decline *pleoh*, danger. Cp. § 19.

24. Secondary paradigm: *lim*, limb.

	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
<i>N. Acc.</i>	<i>lim</i>	<i>limu</i> , <i>liomu</i> (§ 132)
<i>Gen.</i>	<i>limes</i>	<i>lima</i> , <i>lioma</i>
<i>Dat.</i>	<i>lime</i>	<i>linum</i> , <i>liomum</i>

NOTES. (1) In the same way are declined neuters with *i* or *e* before a single consonant, such as

<i>clif</i> , <i>cliff</i>	<i>gebed</i> , <i>prayer</i> (<i>pl.</i> <i>gebedu</i> , <i>gebeodu</i>)
<i>scip</i> , <i>ship</i>	<i>geset</i> , <i>seat</i>

(2) Plurals with *i* or *e*, *limu* etc., are most common; those with *io*, *eo*, due to *u*-mutation, decrease in frequency in later texts.

25. There are traces in some OE. neuters of stems corresponding to Greek neuters in *-os*, Lat. *-us*, *-eris* (*γένος*, *genus*). The *s* appears in OE. as *r*. These words are divided into two classes: (1) those which retain the *r* throughout; (2) those which retain it in the plural only.

(1) Here belong *dōgor*, day; *hrȳðer*, cattle; *salor*, hall; *sigor*, victory; *wildor*, wild beast. For the most part they follow the ordinary declension, but occasionally an uninflected dat. sing. is met with, *dōgor*, *sigor*. Plurals are *dōgor*, *hrȳðeru*, *wildru*, etc. Forms without *r afe* also found; *sæl* as well as *salor*, *sige* and *sigor* (this word has become masculine).

(2) The words *æg*, egg, *cealf*, calf, and *lamb*, are declined alike; *cild*, child, differs somewhat.

Singular.

<i>N. Acc.</i>	cealf	cild
<i>Gen.</i>	cealfes	cildes
<i>Dat.</i>	cealfe	cilde

Plural.

<i>N. Acc.</i>	cealfru	cild, cild(e)ru
<i>Gen.</i>	cealfra	cilda, cildra
<i>Dat.</i>	cealfrum	cildum

ORDINARY DECLENSION.—3. FEMININES.

26. Primary paradigms:

(a) Short stem : *gi(e)fu*, gift.

(b) Long ,, : *stōw*, place.

Singular.

<i>Nom.</i>	gi(e)fu, -o	stōw
<i>Acc.</i>	gi(e)fe	stōwe
<i>Gen.</i>	gi(e)fe	stōwe
<i>Dat.</i>	gi(e)fe	stōwe

Plural.

<i>N. Acc.</i>	gi(e)fa -e	stōwa, -e
<i>Gen.</i>	gi(e)fa, -ena	stōwa
<i>Dat.</i>	gi(e)fum	stōwum

NOTES. (1) *Gi(e)fu* is a short *ā*-stem (corresponding to Latin and Greek *ā*-declension), *stōw* is a long *wā*-stem (see § 31). All long *ā*-stems, such as *ār*, honour, *lār*, lore, *glōf*, glove, *wyrd*, wound, and long *jā*-stems (see § 33), such as *gierd*, rod, yard, *wylf*, she-wolf, are declined like *stōw*. (Note the mutated root-vowels of the *jā*-stems.)

(2) The gen. pl. in *-ena* was imported from the weak declension and is found only in the later texts. It is very rarely added to long stems, never to *jā*- or *wā*-stems.

(3) In the sing. of short stems with root-vowel *a* (especially when followed by *e*), the *a* alternates with *æ* (see § 100): examples,

<i>sacu, strife</i>	<i>acc. gen. dat. sacce, sæce</i>
<i>wracu, vengeance</i>	<i>wrace, wræce</i>

(4) Final *-o* as a variant for *-u* is so common (see § 20. 3, etc.) that it will be omitted, for the sake of simplification, in some future paradigms.

27. Secondary paradigms: *sāwol*, soul; *fīren*, crime: to illustrate the syncopation in the first (long + short) and the absence of syncopation in the second (short + short), according to § 10.

Singular.

<i>Nom.</i>	<i>sāwol</i>	<i>fīren</i>
<i>Acc.</i>	<i>sāwle</i>	<i>fīrene</i>
<i>Gen.</i>	<i>sāwle</i>	<i>fīrene</i>
<i>Dat.</i>	<i>sāwle</i>	<i>fīrene</i>

Plural.

<i>N. Acc.</i>	<i>sāwla, -o</i>	<i>fīrena, -o</i>
<i>Gen.</i>	<i>sāwla</i>	<i>fīrena</i>
<i>Dat.</i>	<i>sāwlum</i>	<i>fīrenum</i>

28. Secondary paradigm: *scotung*, shooting, missile.

	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
<i>Nom.</i>	<i>scotung</i>	<i>scotunga, -e</i>
<i>Acc.</i>	<i>scotunga, -o</i>	<i>scotunga, -e</i>
<i>Gen.</i>	<i>scotunga, -e</i>	<i>scotunga</i>
<i>Dat.</i>	<i>scotunga, -e</i>	<i>scotungum</i>

In the same way are declined all fem. abstracts in *-ung*; but those in *-ing* do not take *-a* in the singular, and so conform to the ordinary declension.

29. Secondary paradigm: *strengð(u)*, strength.

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<i>Nom.</i>	strengð, strengðu	strengða, -e, strengðu
<i>Acc.</i>	strengðe, strengðu	„ „ „
<i>Gen.</i>	„ „	strengða
<i>Dat.</i>	„ „	strengðum

Two classes of feminine abstracts belong here.

(a) Nouns such as

hæl(u), <i>health</i>	mæn(i)gu, <i>multitude</i>
iellu, <i>age</i>	strengu, <i>strength</i> ,

which were originally of the weak declension (*i*-stems), borrowed the *-u* of the nom. sing. from the ordinary fem. declension, then extended it to other cases, and finally conformed to the ordinary declension.

(b) Nouns ending in *-ð(u)* and *-t(u)* (earlier *-iðu*), such as

hiehð(u), <i>height</i>	ofermētту, <i>arrogance</i>
sælð, <i>happiness</i>	gīemeliest, <i>neglect</i> ,

belonged from the first to the ordinary declension, but later imitated the uninflected declension of the first class.

NOTES. (1) In (a) the sing. is usually indeclinable and plurals are rare.

(2) In (b) the ordinary fem. declension is more often followed, and plurals are more common, than in (a).

(3) In both classes there has been *i*-mutation of root-vowels.

(4) For *-u* final, *-o* is frequent.

(5) The uninflected *strengð*, as well as *strengðu*, is found in the accus. sing., but not in EWS.

30. *Ēa*, river, and *ǣ*, law, are declined as follows:

<i>Singular.</i>		
<i>N. Acc.</i>	ēa	ǣ, ǣw
<i>Gen.</i>	ēa, īe, ēas	ǣ, ǣwe, ǣs
<i>Dat.</i>	ēa, īe	ǣ, ǣwe
<i>Plural.</i>		
<i>N. Acc.</i>	ēa, (ēan weak)	ǣ
<i>Gen.</i>	ēa	
<i>Dat.</i>	ēa(u)m, ēan	

(i) *W-Stems.*

31. In the following sections attention is called to the special characteristics of *w*-stems, *j*-stems and *i*-stems of all genders, and paradigms are given representing all peculiarities of inflection.

NOTE. The majority of OE. masc. and neuter nouns are *o*-stems, and the majority of fem. nouns *ā*-stems. If the *-o* and *-ā* were preceded by *w* or *j*, the stems are distinguished as *wo*-stems, *wā*-stems and *jo*-stems, *jā*-stems respectively. Next in importance come the *i*-stems, most of which passed over to the *o*- and *ā*- (or "ordinary") declensions.

32. Paradigms:

- (a) Masc.: *bearu*, grove; *þeo(w)*, servant.
 (b) Neuter: *bealu*, evil; *trēo(w)*, tree.
 (c) Fem.: *beadu*, battle; *mǣd*, meadow.

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
<i>Singular.</i>			
<i>Nom.</i>	bearu, -o	bealu, -o	beadu
<i>Acc.</i>	"	"	beadwe
<i>Gen.</i>	bearwes	bealwes	"
<i>Dat.</i>	bearwe	bealwe	"
<i>Plural.</i>			
<i>N. Acc.</i>	bearwas	bealu, -o	beadwa, .
<i>Gen.</i>	bearwa	bealwa	beadwa
<i>Dat.</i>	bearwum	bealwum	beadwum

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
	<i>Singular.</i>		
<i>Nom.</i>	ščō(w)	trēō(w)	māēd
<i>Acc.</i>	„	„	māēd(w)e
<i>Gen.</i>	ščōwes	trēowes	„
<i>Dat.</i>	ščōwe	trēowe, trēo	„

Plural.

<i>N. Acc.</i>	ščōwas	trēow(u) ¹ , trēo	-e
<i>Gen.</i>	ščōwa	trēowa	
<i>Dat.</i>	ščōwum	trēowum	

NOTES. (1) It will be seen that these words hardly differ from the ordinary declensions, except in that, when there is no termination, the *w* is vocalised to *u* after a short vowel, and is sometimes dropped after a long vowel. When *w* is retained in the nom., as in *hlāw*, mound, the ordinary declension is followed throughout.

(2) Decline like	bealu	scaru, <i>art</i>
	beadu	ncaru, <i>straits</i>
		pls. geatwa, getāwa, <i>equipments</i>
		frætwa, <i>ornaments</i>
	trēō(w)	cnēō(w), <i>knee</i>
	māēd	lēs, <i>pasture</i>

(3) The broken vowel in *bearu*, *bealu*, is carried over from the oblique cases, where *a* is broken regularly before *r*, *l* + *w*.

(4) An intrusive vowel is often found before *w*, to ease the pronunciation: exs. *bealowes*, *bealewa*, *beaduwe*, *frætewum* (see § 12).

¹ From this final -*u* Cosijn infers that the preceding *eo* in these words was short: see § 9.

(ii) *J-Stems.*

33. Paradigms:

- (a) Masc. : *here*, army ; *secg*, man.
 (b) Neuter : *rice*, realm ; *fæsten*, stronghold.
 (c) Fem. : *hāignes*, holiness, sanctuary.

Masc.

Singular.

<i>N. Acc.</i>	<i>here</i>	<i>secg</i>
<i>Gen.</i>	<i>her(i)(g)es</i>	<i>secges</i>
<i>Dat.</i>	<i>her(i)(g)e</i>	<i>secge</i>

Plural.

<i>N. Acc.</i>	<i>her(i)(g)(e)as</i> ¹	<i>secg(e)as</i>
<i>Gen.</i>	<i>her(i)g(e)a</i>	<i>secg(e)a</i>
<i>Dat.</i>	<i>her(i)gum</i>	<i>secg(i)um</i>

Neut.

Fem.

Singular.

<i>Nom.</i>	<i>rice</i>	<i>fæsten</i>	<i>hāignes</i>
<i>Acc.</i>	„	„	<i>hāignesse</i>
<i>Gen.</i>	<i>rices</i>	<i>fæsten(n)es</i>	<i>hāignesse</i>
<i>Dat.</i>	<i>rice</i>	<i>fæsten(n)e</i>	<i>hāignesse</i>

Plural.

<i>N. Acc.</i>	<i>ric(i)u</i>	<i>fæsten(n)u</i>	<i>hāignessa, -e</i>
<i>Gen.</i>	<i>ric(e)a</i>	<i>fæsten(n)a</i>	<i>hāignessa</i>
<i>Dat.</i>	<i>ric(i)um</i>	<i>fæsten(n)um</i>	<i>hāignessum</i>

¹ Forms with *g* and without *i* or *e* are common, but never the converse. Thus the forms of the nom. pl. are *herigeas*, *hcrigas*, *hergeas*, *hergas*, *hcras*.

NOTES. (1) Decline

<i>like sēcƿ</i>	<i>like rīce</i>
<i>hrycg, back</i>	<i>stȳcce, piece</i>
<i>węcg, wedge</i>	<i>gefȳlce, troop</i>
<i>lāce, leech</i>	<i>gemierce, boundary</i>
<i>mēce, sword</i>	

(2) The gemination in the oblique cases of *fæsten* and *hālignes* is found in all polysyllables (including disyllables) ending in -es (-is), -et, such as *līeget*, lightning; in numerous fem. and neut. derivatives in -en, such as *æfen* (masc. and neut.), evening, *rāden* (fem.), arrangement, and all compounds of -*rāden*; in *cōndel* (fem.), candle; and in dat. infinitives or gerunds, e.g. *tō beranne*, -enne, to bear.

(3) The above paradigms are grouped together because each of them shows some sign of the original *j* of the stem. (a) In *here*, *g*, *ig*, *ige* represent earlier *j*; (b) in *sēcƿ*, the doubled consonant (cg=gg) after a short vowel represents earlier consonant + *j* (gg < gj), and the mutation of the root-vowel was caused (and in *here*) by the *j*; (c) in *rice* and *sēcƿ*, the palatalisation of the original guttural of the stem, denoted by the intrusive *e*, *i*, is due to the original *j*; (d) in *fæsten* and *hālignes*, the doubling of the final consonant in the oblique cases is due to the same cause (see § 13).

(4) *J*-stems presenting no peculiarity of inflection have already been declined in §§ 16, 20, 26.

(5) *Mete*, meat and *hyse*, youth, have passed over in the plural from the *i*-stems to the *j*-stems, as is seen by the doubled consonant; pl. *mettas*, *metta*, *mettum*; *hyssas* (as well as *hysas*).

(iii) *I*-Stems.

34. Paradigms:

- (a) Masc. : *wine*, friend; *Engle*, Angles, English.
 (b) Fem. : *dēd*, deed.

	Masc.		Fem.
	<i>Singular.</i>		
<i>N. Acc.</i>	wine		dǣd
<i>Gen.</i>	wines		dǣde
<i>Dat.</i>	wine		dǣde
	<i>Plural.</i>		
<i>N. Acc.</i>	wine, -as	Engle	dǣde, -a
<i>Gen.</i>	wina, wini(g)(e)a	Engla	dǣda
<i>Dat.</i>	winum	Englum	dǣdum

NOTES. (1) The characteristics of this declension are the plurals in *-e*, and the unchanged acc. sing. of the feminines. The plural terminations *-as* and *-a* came in from the ordinary declensions. Later came also acc. sing. of feminines in *-e*: *dǣde*, *cwēne*, *tīde*, etc.

(2) The neuter *i*-stems do not differ in inflection from the ordinary declension; see *sife* § 20.

(3) Like *Engle* (i.e. without plural in *-as*) are declined a few plurals (without singulars), and names of tribes, nations etc. ending in *-e*:

Masc. Pls.		Nations, Tribes
lēode,	people	Mierce, Mercians
ielde,	men	Seaxe, Saxons
ielfe,	elves	Sumorsǣte, men of Somerset
		etc.

(4) Like *wine*—the plural in *-as* is much the more frequent—are declined all mascs. with short mutated vowel + single consonant + *e* (except *here*, § 33) such as

cwide, speech	hyge, mind	slege, stroke
ege, terror	sige, victory	stede, place

and abstracts in *-scipe*, such as *frēondscipe*, friendship. Only *Dene*, Dane, has the longer form of the gen. pl.

(5) Like *dǣd* are declined the following feminines, all with long root-syllables and mutated vowels:

æht, <i>property</i>	hȳd, <i>hide</i>	tīd,
benc, <i>bench</i>	lyft, <i>atmosphere</i>	wēn, <i>expectation</i>
bȳsen, <i>example</i>	miht, <i>might</i>	wist,
cwēn, <i>woman</i>	nīed, <i>need</i>	
ēst, <i>favour</i>	scyld, <i>guilt</i>	
fierd, <i>army</i>	spēd, <i>success</i>	wyrt,

and a few less common words.

(6) The intrusive vowel, to which attention was called in § 33. (3) as marking the palatalisation of the preceding *g* or *c*, is frequently found after those letters in all stems, verbal and adjectival as well as nominal, which originally ended in *i* or *j*. Thus, among *i*-stems, for *mēn(i)gu* we find *mēnig(e)o*, and the plural of *wlēncu*, pride, is nom. gen. *wlēnc(e)a*, dat. *wlēnc(i)um*. Of the *i*-stems declined like *wine*, those whose root ends in *g* or *c* sometimes have *e* or *i* before a guttural vowel: *bygeas*, curves, *slegeas*, strokes, etc.; while among long *i*-stems, which have otherwise passed over to the ordinary declension, we find

glęng(e)as, <i>gen. glęng(e)a</i> , ornaments	stęng(e)as, <i>poles</i>
stęnc(e)as, <i>stanches</i>	stręng(e)as, <i>strings</i>
wręnc(e)as, <i>dat. wręnc(i)um</i> , wrenches.	

(7) The only *i*-stems which have not a mutated root-vowel are *Seaxe*, *lēode*, *gesceaft*, creation, *geðeaht*, thought, and one or two more. *Seaxe* was originally of the weak declension; hence the gen. pl. *Seaxna*, which has been imitated by *Mierce*, *Miercna*.

(8) *Woruld* (fem.), world, has passed over to the *i*- from the *u*-declension, of which however it sometimes retains the dat. sing. in *-a*, *worulda*.

35. The great majority of OE. nouns belong to the foregoing ordinary declensions. In the following minor and weak declensions, lists or other indications will be given (as has been done already in the case of *w*-stems, *j*-stems and *i*-stems) of the nouns that follow those declensions, so that in what has often been regarded as the difficult problem: "To what declension does a noun belong?" the student has only to master the lists and criteria given in the various sections and then to follow this rule: *Ascertain the gender of the noun; apart from any indication to the contrary, it will follow the ordinary declension for that gender.*

MINOR DECLENSIONS.

4. *U-Stems.*

36. Paradigms:

(a) Short stem : *sunu* (m.), son.(b) Long stem : *hond* (f.), hand.*Singular.*

<i>N. Acc.</i>	<i>sunu</i>	<i>hond</i>
<i>Gen.</i>	<i>sunā</i>	<i>honda</i>
<i>Dat.</i>	<i>sunā</i>	<i>honda</i>

Plural.

<i>N. Acc.</i>	<i>sunā</i>	<i>honda</i>
<i>Gen.</i>	<i>sunā</i>	<i>honda</i>
<i>Dat.</i>	<i>sunum</i>	<i>hondum</i>

NOTES. (1) Several words have passed over to the ordinary declension. Of short stems, *wudu*, wood, *si(o)du*, custom, *duru*, door, *nosu*, nose, are alone fully declined. *Meodu*, mead (drink), has dat. sing. *meodu*, -o. *Heoru*, sword, *lagu*, water, *magu*, son, have only nom. acc. sing. All these words are masc. except *duru* and *nosu* (fem.).

Of long stems *hond* alone is fully inflected; but traces of this declension are seen in the dats. sing. *felda* (field), *forda* (ford), *wealda* (forest), *wintra* and *sumera*, and in the occasional gen. sing. *wintra*. All these (except *hond*) are masc. *Winter* has also gen. *wintres*; its plural is neuter, *winter* and *wintru*.

(2) Even the few words given above tend to pass over to the ordinary declension. *Magu* has pl. *magas* even in EWS.; later we find gen. *wudes*, dat. *dure*, nose, pl. *sunas*, *wudas*, etc.

(3) The -u(-o) of the short stems sometimes intrudes into the dat. sing. and nom. acc. pl. For the loss of final -u after a long stem see § 9.

5. *R*-Stems.

37. Here belong only five names of relatives ending in *-r*: *fæder*, father, *mōdor*, mother, *brōðor*, brother, *sweostor*, sister, *dohtor*, daughter.

Singular.

<i>N. Acc.</i>	<i>fæder</i>	<i>mōdor</i>	<i>brōðor</i>
<i>Gen.</i>	<i>fæder, -(e)res</i>	<i>mōdor</i>	<i>brōðor</i>
<i>Dat.</i>	<i>fæder</i>	<i>mēder</i>	<i>brēðer</i>

Plural.

<i>N. Acc.</i>	<i>fæd(e)ras</i>	<i>mōdor, mōdru, -a</i>	<i>brōðor, brōðru</i>
<i>Gen.</i>	<i>fæd(e)ra</i>	<i>mōdra</i>	<i>brōðra</i>
<i>Dat.</i>	<i>fæd(e)rum</i>	<i>mōdrum</i>	<i>brōðrum</i>

Singular.

<i>N. Acc.</i>	<i>sweostor</i>	<i>dohtor</i>
<i>Gen.</i>	<i>sweostor</i>	<i>dohtor</i>
<i>Dat.</i>	<i>sweostor</i>	<i>dehter, dohtor</i>

Plural.

<i>N. Acc.</i>	<i>sweostor</i>	<i>dohtor, dohtru, -a</i>
<i>Gen.</i>	<i>sweostra</i>	<i>dohtra</i>
<i>Dat.</i>	<i>sweostrum</i>	<i>dohtrum</i>

NOTES. (1) Instead of *-or* we find *-ur, -er*, but not *-or* for *-er*. Other forms (mostly later) of *sweostor* are *swostor, swuster, swyster*. The gens. sing. *mēder* and *dehter* are late. There are collective plurals *gebrōðor, -ðru*, brethren, *gesweostor*, sisters.

(2) Hitherto (with the exception of § 25) we have had only strong vowel-stems. The weak *n*-stems are placed last. This and the next two declensions contain irregular consonant-stems. At a later stage these distinctions become fundamental; here simplicity and convenience have been chiefly consulted.

6. *ND-Stems.*38. Paradigms: *frēond*, friend; *āgend*, owner.*Singular.*

<i>N. Acc.</i>	<i>frēond</i>	<i>āgend</i>
<i>Gen.</i>	<i>frēondes</i>	<i>āgendes</i>
<i>Dat.</i>	<i>frīend, frēonde</i>	<i>āgende</i>

Plural.

<i>N. Acc.</i>	<i>frīend, frēond</i>	<i>t. frēondas)</i>	<i>āgend, -de, -das</i>
<i>Gen.</i>	<i>frēonda</i>		<i>āgendra</i>
<i>Dat.</i>	<i>frēondum</i>		<i>āgendum</i>

NOTE. This class of nouns consists of present participles, which have dropped the final participial *-e* and are used as nouns. Like *frēond* is declined only *fēond*, enemy. Like *āgend* are declined all polysyllables ending in *-end*. *Gōdhlōnd*, (good-doing) benefactor, has pl. *gōdhlōnd*. *Dat. sing. frēonde* and pl. *āgendas* are borrowed from the ordinary declension. Pl. *āgende* and gen. pl. *āgendra* are borrowed from the declension of adjs. and participles (see § 48). In reading texts, it is often difficult to decide, from the similarity of forms, whether a word is a noun or a participle.

7. Other Stems.

39. Paradigms:

- (a) Masc.: *mōnn*, man; *fōt*, foot.
 (b) Fem.: *bōc*, book; *hnōtu*, nut.

Singular.

<i>N. Acc.</i>	<i>mōn(n)</i>	<i>fōt</i>
<i>Gen.</i>	<i>mōnnes</i>	<i>fōtes</i>
<i>Dat.</i>	<i>mōn(n)</i>	<i>fōt •</i>

Plural.

<i>N. Acc.</i>	<i>mōn(n)</i>	<i>fēt, fōtas</i>
<i>Gen.</i>	<i>mōnna</i>	<i>fōta</i>
<i>Dat.</i>	<i>mōnnum</i>	<i>fōtum</i>

Singular.

<i>N. Acc.</i>	bōc	hnutu
<i>Gen.</i>	bēc, bōce	hæute
<i>Dat.</i>	būc	hnyte

Plural.

<i>N. Acc.</i>	bēc	hnyte
<i>Gen.</i>	bōca	hnuta
<i>Dat.</i>	bōcum	hnutum

NOTES. (1) The second forms, i.e. those without *i*-mutation, are later.

(2) Like *fōt* is declined *tōð*, tooth.

(3) Like *bōc* are declined

brōc, <i>breeches</i>	pl. brēc	mūs, <i>mouse</i>	pl. mȳs
gūs, <i>goose</i>	gēs	turf, <i>turf</i>	tyrf
lūs, <i>louse</i>	lȳs	and a few more.	

Like *hnutu* is *studu*, column.

(4) The fems. *ni(e)ht*, night, and *mæg(e)ð*, maid, cannot suffer *i*-mutation; they are therefore unchanged in the sing. and the nom. pl. *Ni(e)htes*, by night, is an adverbial formation.

(5) The mascs. *hæleð*, hero, and *mōnað*, month, follow the ordinary declension in the sing., e.g. dat. *mōnðe*; in the pl. they have both *hæleð*, *mōnað* and *hæleðas*, *mōn(e)ðas*.

(6) The declension of the fems. *burg*, walled town, *cū*, cow, and of the neuters *ealu*, ale, *scrūd*, dress, is best given in full (as far as the forms are found):

Singular.

<i>N. Acc.</i>	burg	cū	ealu	scrūd
<i>Gen.</i>	byr(i)g, burge	cū(e), cȳ, cūs	(e)aloð, -að	
<i>Dat.</i>	byr(i)g, burge	cȳ	(e)aloð, -að	scrȳd

Plural.

<i>N. Acc.</i>	byr(i)g, burge, -a	cy(e)		scrūd
<i>Gen.</i>	burga	cūa, cūna, cȳna	ealoða	scrūda
<i>Dat.</i>	burgum	cū(u)m		

II. WEAK NOUNS.

(n-stems)

40. Paradigms:

(a) Masc.: *guma*, man; *gefēa*, joy.(b) Fem.: *heorte*, heart.(c) Neuter: *ēage*, eye.

	Masc.		Fem.	Neut.
	<i>Singular.</i>			
<i>Nom.</i>	<i>guma</i>	<i>gefēa</i>	<i>heorte</i>	<i>ēage</i>
<i>Acc.</i>	<i>guman</i>	<i>gefēan</i>	<i>heortan</i>	<i>ēage</i>
<i>Gen.</i>	<i>guman</i>	<i>gefēan</i>	<i>heortan</i>	<i>ēagan</i>
<i>Dat.</i>	<i>guman</i>	<i>gefēan</i>	<i>heortan</i>	<i>ēagan</i>

Plural.

<i>N. Acc.</i>	<i>guman</i>	<i>gefēan</i>	<i>heortan</i>	<i>ēagan</i>
<i>Gen.</i>	<i>gumena</i>	<i>gefēana</i>	<i>heortena</i>	<i>ēag(e)na</i>
<i>Dat.</i>	<i>gumun</i>	<i>gefēa(u)m</i>	<i>heortum</i>	<i>ēagum</i>

NOTES. (1) Like *guma* are declined all masculines in -a (except *frēa*, *wēa* and *rā*).

(2) Like *gefēa* are declined

<i>Mascs.</i>		<i>Fems.</i>
<i>frēa</i> , lord	<i>gen. frēan</i>	<i>bēo</i> , bee
<i>wēa</i> , woe	<i>wēan</i>	<i>tā</i> , toe
<i>rā</i> , roe	<i>rān</i>	<i>gen. bēc</i>
<i>lēo</i> , lion	<i>lēon</i>	<i>tār</i>
<i>twēo</i> , doubt	<i>twēon</i>	
<i>pl. Swēon</i> , Swedes	<i>Swēona</i> (<i>dat. Swēom</i>)	

(3) Like *heorte* are declined

<i>almesse</i> , alms	<i>fāmne</i> , virgin	<i>nādre</i> , adler
<i>cirice</i> , church	<i>hearpe</i> , harp	<i>sunne</i> , sun
<i>cwene</i> , woman	<i>hlāfdige</i> , lady	<i>tunge</i> , tongue
<i>eorðe</i> , earth	<i>miere</i> , mare	<i>wice</i> , week

and several others; also a few short-stemmed feminines in *-u*, such as

<i>peru</i> , <i>pear</i>	<i>ðrotu</i> , <i>throat</i>
<i>spadu</i> , <i>spade</i>	<i>wucu</i> , <i>week</i> .

(3) Like *ēage* is declined only *ēare*, *ear*.

(4) The endings *-on* for *-an*, and *-ona*, *-ana* for *-ena*, are not uncommon. The *e* of the gen. pl. may be syncopated in *tung(e)na*, *ēar(e)na*, and in names of peoples after a long root-syllable: *Frognca*, *Longbeardna*, etc.

(5) Of common gender are

<i>cuma</i> , <i>guest</i>	<i>gemæcca</i> , <i>mate</i>
<i>gebēdda</i> , <i>bedfellow</i>	<i>gerēsta</i> , <i>spouse</i>

Ēastron, *Easter* (fem. pl.), is usually indeclinable.

ADJECTIVES.

41. Nearly all OE. adjectives (including participles) have both a Strong (Indefinite) and a Weak (Definite) form: strong *gōd*, weak *gōða*, which follow the strong and the weak declension respectively.

The weak form of the adjective is used

- (a) after the definite article and demonstrative adjs.;
- (b) after a possessive adj.;
- (c) in the vocative;
- (d) frequently in poetry where the strong form would be used in prose.

The following adjs. have only one form.

(i) **Always strong:** *an*, one, *ðēr*, second, *āgen*, own, *hwīlc*, which, *swīlc*, such, and the possessive adjs. *mīn*, *ðīn*, *uncer*, *incer*, *ūre*, *ēower*.

(ii) **Always weak:** *āna*, alone, *īlca*, same; all ordinals except *ðēr*; all comparatives; *hindema*, hindmost. Superlatives have both strong and weak forms; but as they are usually preceded by the definite article, strong forms are not common.

STRONG DECLENSION.

42. Endings.—The strong and weak declensions of adjs. were originally identical with those of strong and weak nouns, but the strong declension has, in several cases, assimilated to the pronominal declension. This will be seen by the following scheme of terminations, in which the distinctively pronominal endings are printed in black type, the others in *italic*.

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
		<i>Singular.</i>	
<i>Nom.</i>			
<i>Acc.</i>	-ne		-e
<i>Gen.</i>		<i>-es</i>	-re
<i>Dat.</i>		-um	-re
<i>Instr.</i>		<i>-e</i>	
		<i>Plural.</i>	
<i>N. Acc.</i>	-e	(<i>-u</i>)	-a, -e
<i>Gen.</i>		-ra	
<i>Dat.</i>		<i>-um</i>	

NOTES. (1) It should be carefully noted: (*a*) that the dat. sing. masc. and neuter, as well as the dat. pl., ends in *-um*; (*b*) that there is an instrumental case in the masc. and neuter sing. distinct from the dat.; (*c*) that a form in *-e* must not be assumed to be a plural; it may be an acc. fem. sing., or an instr. sing.

(2) The rule for the final *-u* of the nom. fem. sing. and neut. pl. is the same as in nouns (see §§ 9, 43).

(3) The following variants are found:

(*a*) for the *-u* of the nom. fem. sing. occasionally *-o*;

(*b*) for the *-u* of the neut. pl. sometimes *-o, -a*;

(*c*) for *-um* (sing. and pl.) occasionally *-on, -an*.

(*d*) *-ere* for *-re* appears in EWS. in *sum(e)re, hwelcere, wēlcere*; in late texts *-ere* for *-re* and *-era* for *-ra* become the regular endings.

(e) Long-stemmed (therefore uninflected) neut. pls. sometimes borrow the -e of the masc. pl. even in EWS.: exs. *ealle*, *lunge*.

(f) In LWS. the assimilation of terminations becomes more marked: -e tends to become universal in the nom. pl. by replacing the -u of the short-stemmed neuters and ousting the -a of the fems.; and, similarly, the nom. sing. attains one form for all genders by the dropping of the -u of short-stemmed fems.

43. Primary paradigms:

(a) Long monosyllable: *gōd*, good.

(b) Short monosyllable: *til*, useful.

(c) Polysyllables: *grēne*, green; *hālig*, holy.

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
		<i>Singular.</i>	
<i>Nom.</i>	gōd	gōd	gōd
<i>Acc.</i>	gōdne	gōd	gōde
<i>Gen.</i>		gōdes	gōdre
<i>Dat.</i>		gōdum	gōdre
<i>Instr.</i>		gōde	
		<i>Plural.</i>	
<i>N. Acc.</i>	gōde	gōd	gōda, -e
<i>Gen.</i>		gōdra	
<i>Dat.</i>		gōdum	
		<i>Singular.</i>	
<i>Nom.</i>	til	til	tilu (§ 9)
<i>Acc.</i>	tilne	til	tile
<i>Gen.</i>		tiles	tilre
<i>Dat.</i>		tilum	tilre
<i>Instr.</i>		tile	
		<i>Plural.</i>	
<i>N. Acc.</i>	tile	tilu (§ 9)	tila, -e
<i>Gen.</i>		tilra	
<i>Dat.</i>		tilum	

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
		<i>Singular.</i>	
<i>Nom.</i>	grēne	grēne	grēnu (§ 9)
<i>Acc.</i>	grēnne	grēne	grēne
<i>Gen.</i>		grēnes	grēnre
<i>Dat.</i>		grēnum	grēnre
<i>Instr.</i>		grēne	

		<i>Plural.</i>	
<i>N. Acc.</i>	grēne	grēnu (§ 9)	grēna, -e
<i>Gen.</i>		grēnra	
<i>Dat.</i>		grēnum	

		<i>Singular.</i>	
<i>Nom.</i>	hālig	hālig	hāl(i)gu
<i>Acc.</i>	hāligne	hālig	hālge
<i>Gen.</i>		hālges	hāligre
<i>Dat.</i>		hālgum	hāligre
<i>Instr.</i>		hālge	

		<i>Plural.</i>	
<i>N. Acc.</i>	hālge	hāl(i)gu	hālga, -e
<i>Gen.</i>		hāligra	
<i>Dat.</i>		hālgum	

NOTES. (1) Adjs. ending in a double consonant—whether the double consonant be original, as in *eal(l)*, *all*, *grim(m)*, *grim*, or < earlier consonant + *j* (*jo*-stems), as in *nytt(t)*, *useful*—simplify the geminate when final (as a rule) and before a termination beginning with a consonant: *exs. gen. masc. grimmes, nyttes*; *acc. masc. grimne, nytne*. But original *ll* may remain: *eal(l)ne, eal(l)re*.

(2) Like *grēne* are declined all adjectives ending in *-e* (original *j*-stems and *i*-stems).

(3) **Final -u** (see § 9). The almost universal rule for adjs. is, that final -u is retained except in long monosyllables and in disyllables of two short syllables (short + short). Even where in the pl. of neuter nouns it would be dropped, viz. after long + long, it is retained in adjs., e.g. *menniscu*. Accordingly we find fem. sing. and neut. pl. *īd(e)lu*, *āg(e)nu*, *ōð(e)ru*, *ēow(e)ru*; but *hefig*, *micel*, *mōnig* (short + short). •

Later, however, this distinction was lost and each class borrowed the forms of the other, so that we find on the one hand fem. sing. and neut. pl. *āgen*, *ēower*, *hālig*, *lītel*, and on the other *miclu*, *mōnegu*.

(4) **Syncope**. The rule laid down in § 10 holds good, i.e. syncope of the *e*, *i*, *o*, of the suffixes, -*el*, -*ol*, -*er*, -*or*, -*ig*, before a termination beginning with a vowel, is normal after a long root-syllable, exceptional after a short. Exceptions are not numerous. *Micel* always syncopates; *yfel* more often than not; adjs. of material in -*en*, such as *gylden*, golden, never (cp. § 22. 2).

(5) It will be seen that the four primary paradigms are practically identical, except as regards final -u and syncope. Rules (3) and (4) just given afford sufficient help for the settlement of these two questions in EWS., and when they are settled, any OE. adj. can be declined by means of the table of endings alone (§ 42).

(6) Slight liberties are sometimes taken with strictly grammatical forms in order to render them easier of pronunciation. Thus if two *ns* come together after another consonant in the acc. masc. sing., the second *n* is apt to be dropped:

Nom.	Acc. Masc. Sing.
fæcne, treacherous	fæcne
isern, iron	isern(n)e
sūðerne, southern	sūðerne

Again, a final -*nē*, -*re*, is apt to become -*en*, -*er*, before a termination beginning with a consonant: *frēcne*, dangerous, acc. masc. sing. *frēc(en)ne*; *gīfre*, greedy, gen. pl. *gīferra*.

(7) Two masc. pl. forms, *mōnega* and *fēawa* (few), are found with occasional -*a* for -*e*, apparently borrowed from *fēla* (indecl.), many.

(8) The pl. adj. *fēawe* (-*a*), *fēa*, few, has dat. *fēawum*, *fēa(u)n*.

44. Secondary paradigm: *glæd*, glad

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
		<i>Singular.</i>	
<i>Nom.</i>	glæd	glæd	gladu
<i>Acc.</i>	glædne	glæd	glæde
<i>Gen.</i>		glades	glædre
<i>Dat.</i>	€	gladum	glædre
<i>Instr.</i>		glæde	
		<i>Plural.</i>	
<i>N. Acc.</i>	glæde	gladu	glada,
<i>Gen.</i>		glædra	
<i>Dat.</i>		gladum	

NOTE. In the same way are declined *hææt*, brisk, *blac*, black, and all similar adjs. Cp. §§ 17, 21; but observe that here original *a* (§ 100) remains before *every* termination beginning with a vowel.

45. Secondary paradigm: *gearu*, ready.

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
		<i>Singular.</i>	
<i>Nom.</i>	gearu, -o	gearu, -o	gearu, -o
<i>Acc.</i>	gearone	gearu, -o	gearwe
<i>Gen.</i>		gearwes	gearore
<i>Dat.</i>		gearwum	
<i>Instr.</i>		gearwe	
		<i>Plural.</i>	
<i>N. Acc.</i>	gearwe	gearu, -o	gearwa, -e
<i>Gen.</i>		gearora	
<i>Dat.</i>		gearwum	

NOTES. (1) Like *gearu*, a *w(wa)*-stem, are declined *fealu*, fallow, *nearu*, narrow, *geolu*, yellow, and a few less common words. It will be seen that *w* is vocalised to *o* or *u* when final and before a termination beginning with a consonant.

(2) An intrusive *o*, *u*, *e*, is frequently found between *r* and *v*: *gearowes*, *gearuwe*, *gearewum*. Occasional forms are *gearre*, *gearra*, for *gearore*, *gearora*.

46. Secondary paradigm : *hēah*, high.

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
		<i>Singular.</i>	
<i>Nom.</i>	<i>hēah</i>	<i>hēah</i>	<i>hēah</i>
<i>Acc.</i>	<i>hēan(n)e</i> (<i>hēahne</i>)	<i>hēah</i>	<i>hēa</i>
<i>Gen.</i>	<i>hēas</i>		<i>hēar(r)e</i>
<i>Dat.</i>	<i>hēa(u)m</i> , <i>hēagum</i>		<i>hēar(r)e</i>
<i>Instr.</i>	<i>hēa</i>		
		<i>Plural.</i>	
<i>A.</i>	<i>hēa</i>	<i>hēa(h)</i>	<i>hēa</i>
<i>Gen.</i>		<i>hēar(r)a</i>	
<i>Dat.</i>		<i>hēa(u)m</i> , <i>hēagum</i>	

NOTE. *H*-stems follow the rules laid down in § 13 (q. v.). Thus *hrēoh*, rough, makes *hrēos*, *hrēone*, *hrēora*, *hrēo(u)m*, etc.; *wōh*, crooked, *wōs*, *wō(u)m*, etc. When the *h* follows a liquid, the preceding vowel is lengthened in compensation for its loss: *ðwecorh*, perverse, *ðwēores*, *ðwēorum*, etc.

WEAK DECLENSION.

47. Paradigm : *gōda*, good.

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
		<i>Singular.</i>	
<i>Nom.</i>	<i>gōda</i>	<i>gōde</i>	<i>gōde</i>
<i>Acc.</i>	<i>gōdan</i>	<i>gōde</i>	<i>gōdan</i>
<i>Gen.</i>		<i>gōdan</i>	
<i>Dat.</i>		<i>gōdan</i>	
		<i>Plural.</i>	
<i>N. Acc.</i>		<i>gōdan</i>	
<i>Gen.</i>		<i>gōdra</i> (- <i>ena</i>)	
<i>Dat.</i>		<i>gōdum</i> , - <i>an</i>	

NOTES. (1) **Variants.** It will be seen that the weak declensions of adjs. and nouns are identical, except in the gen. pl., where weak adjs. usually borrow the strong ending *-ra*. In the dat. pl. *-an* for *-um* is frequent. In all cases ending in *-an*, an occasional *-on* is found.

(2) Syncopated and unsyncopated forms frequently alternate. Syncope is more often admissible than in the strong declension: e.g. adjs. of material in *-en* may syncopate their weak forms, as in dat. pl. *gyldnum*.

(3) *H*-stems contract, etc., much as in the strong declension:

<i>Strong.</i>	<i>Weak.</i>
<i>hēah, high</i>	<i>hēa, hēan, etc.</i>
<i>wōh, crooked</i>	<i>wō, wōn, wōna, etc.</i>
<i>ðweorh, perverse</i>	<i>ðwēora, -e, etc.</i>

DECLENSION OF PARTICIPLES.

48. Present participles terminate in *-ende*, with the exception of those of contracted and some anomalous verbs, which end in *-nde*: *āgende, drincende, giefende, wesende; tēonde, slēande, fōnde, bēonde, gūnde*. They are declined both strong and weak. The strong declension is identical with that of *grēne* (like *grēne*, the pres. part. is a *jō*-stem).

Paradigm: *scīnende*, shining.

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
	<i>Singular.</i>		
<i>Nom.</i>	scīnende	scīnende	scīnendu
<i>Acc.</i>	scīnendne	scīnende	scīnende
<i>Gen.</i>	scīnendes		scīnendre
<i>Dat.</i>	scīnendum		scīnendro
<i>Instr.</i>	scīnende		
	<i>Plural.</i>		
<i>N. Acc.</i>	scīnende	scīnendu	scīnendra, -e
<i>Gen.</i>	scīnendra		
<i>Dat.</i>	scīnendum		

NOTES. (1) When used predicatively, uninflected forms are not infrequent, e.g. *scīnende fōr scīnendne*, acc. masc. sing.

(2) The weak declension follows that of *gōda* (§ 47): *scīnenda*, -e, -e.

49. Past participles of strong verbs terminate in -en, of weak verbs in -(e)d, -t, -od. They are declined like ordinary adjectives, both strong and weak.

Final -u is irregular. It is more frequent after long roots than after short: neut. pls. *gefōngnu*, *gerēafodu*; *getrymedu*. Past parts. in the predicate (i.e. when not used attributively) rarely take -u; indeed fem. and neut. pls. in that position usually take the masc. ending -e.

Syncope of *e*, in -en, -ed, before a vowel, is avoided after short root-syllables. After long root-syllables syncope is optional; but it is frequent in the weak declension, and in past parts. in -ed, both strong and weak forms, it is the rule: pls. *gecorene*, *gebund(e)ne*, *gefōng(e)ne*, *āworpan*, *genemn(e)de*, *bedælde*, *oðfæste*. Syncope of the *o* in -od does not take place.

COMPARISON.

I. Adjectives.

50. The comparative of OE. adjs. is formed by adding -ra (earlier -ora) to the positive, and the superlative by adding -ost(a). Final -e is dropped before these endings.

Pos.	Compar.	Superl.
heard, <i>hard</i>	heardra	heardost(a)
hālig, <i>holy</i>	hāligra	hāl(i)gost(a)
nyt(t), <i>useful</i>	nytttra	nyttost(a)
rīce, <i>rich</i>	rīcra	rīcost(a)
mære, <i>famous</i>	mærra	mærost(a)
fæger, <i>fair</i>	fægerra	fæg(e)rost(a)
gearu, <i>ready</i>	gear(o)ra	gearwost(a)

Adjectives with root-vowel *æ* retain the original *a* (see § 100) before the guttural vowel of the superlative ending :

Pos.	Compar.	Superl.
glæd, <i>glad</i>	glædra	gladost(a)
hwæt, <i>active</i>	hwætra	hwatost(a)
smæl, <i>small</i>	smæla	smalost(a) + smælst(a)

There is a second mode of comparison, in which the prehistoric endings *-ira*, *-ist* (OE. *-ra*, *-est*), caused *i*-mutation of the root-vowel. This mode was followed by a comparatively small number of OE. adjectives :

brād, <i>broad</i>	brædra (brādra)	(brādost(a))
eald, <i>old</i>	ieldra	ieldest(a)
ēaþe, <i>easy</i>	ieðra	ieðest(a)
feorr, <i>far</i>	fierra	fierrest(a)
geong, <i>young</i>	giengra	giengest(a)
grēat, <i>great</i>	grietra	grietest(a)
hēah, <i>high</i>	hīer(r)a (hīehra, hīahra)	hīehst(a) (hīeahst(a))
long, <i>long</i>	lēngra	lēngest(a)
nēah, <i>near</i>	nēar(r)a	nīehst(a)
sceort, <i>short</i>	sciertra	sciertest(a)
strēng, <i>strong</i>	strēngra	strēngest(a)

NOTES. (1) All comparatives are declined weak ; the strong form in *-or* is used for comparative adverbs. Superlatives have both strong and weak forms, *-ost*, *-est*, *-osta*, *-esta* ; but the weak form, being used after all demonstratives, is by far the commoner ; inflected strong forms are very rare.

(2) Mutated superlatives (above) end in *-est*, the rest in *-ost* ; but the former sometimes take *-ost*, and the latter *-est*, especially before a guttural vowel : *fægrestum*. For *-ost* are found *-ast*, *-ust* : *æðelast*, *wīsust*.

(3) The gen. pl. of comparatives usually ends in *-ena*, but there also occur such (strong) gen. pls. as *gearra* for *gearrena*, *ūter(r)a*, *ūltra*, for *ūtterrena*.

51. Irregular Comparison.

(a) Four adjs. have comparatives and superlatives* with a different root from that of the positive :

Pos.	Compar.	Superl.
gōd, <i>good</i>	{ bēṭ(e)ra sēlra, sēlla	bēṭ(e)st sēlest
yfel, <i>bad, evil</i>	wiersa	wierrest, wiersta
micel, <i>great</i>	māra	māest
lýtēl, <i>little</i>	lāssa	lās(es)t

(b) From the adv. *æ*r, before, are formed the comparative and superlative adjectives *æ*r(r)a, *æ*rest.

(c) **Superlatives in -mest.** The superl. suffix *-ma* is found only in *forma*, first, *hindema*, hindmost; but combined with the further suffix *-est*, it is seen in a number of superlatives, which are etymologically double superlatives. They are mostly without corresponding positive adjs. The comparative usually ends in *-erra*.

Pos.	Compar.	Superl.
(norð, <i>northwards</i>)	norðerra, nyrðra	norðmest
(sūð, <i>southwards</i>)	sūðerra, sýðerra	
(ēast, <i>eastwards</i>)	ēasterra	ēast(e)mest
(west, <i>westwards</i>)	westerra	west(e)mest
mid(d), <i>middle</i>		mid(e)mest
(fore, <i>before</i>)		forma, fyrmest, fyr(e)st
(forð, <i>forth</i>)	furðra	
(æfter, <i>after</i>)	æft(er)ra	æftemest
(ufan, <i>above</i>)	yferra, uferra	yfemest, ufemest (ȳmest)
(niðan, <i>below</i>)	niðerra	niðemest
(inne, <i>within</i>)	innerra	innemest
(ūte, <i>without</i>)	ȳterra, ūterra	ȳt(e)mest, ūtemest
læt, <i>late</i>	lætra	lættemest, lættest
(sið, <i>late, adv.</i>)	siðra	sið(e)mest, siðest

II. Adverbs.

52. As a rule, only adverbs formed from adjectives can be compared. The comparative is formed by adding *-or*, the superlative by adding *-ost*, to the positive adv., after cutting off final *-e*. Thus the strong forms of comparative and superlative adjs. are used as compar. and superl. advs.

Pos.	Compar.	Superl.
hearde, <i>hard</i>	heardor	heardost
dēope, <i>deeply</i>	dēopor	dēopost
fæste, <i>fast</i>	fæstor	fæstost
gear(w)e, <i>well</i>	gear(w)or	gear(w)ost

The comparative in *-or* is never used as an adjective.

53. Irregular Comparison.

(a) It will have been noticed that the place of the positive of most of the words compared in § 51 was supplied by an adverb. Several of these advs. have compar. in *-or*—*norðor*, *sūðor*, *furðor*, *ufor*, *nīðor*, *innor*, *ūtor*—and the superl. adjs. are equally used as advs.

(b) The following have monosyllabic comparatives, almost all with mutated root-vowels:

wel, <i>well</i>	{ bēt sēl	bēt(o)st sēlest
yfle, <i>ill</i>	wiers	wierrest
lýt(el), <i>little</i>	læs	læst
micle, <i>much</i>	mā, mē	mæst
feorr, <i>far</i>	fierr	fierrest
nēah, <i>nigh</i>	nēar, nȳr	nīehst
æ̅r, <i>before</i>	æ̅r, æ̅ror	æ̅rost, æ̅r(e)st
sīð, <i>late</i>	sīð, sīðor	sīð(e)mest, sīðest
lōnge, <i>long</i>	lēng	lēngest
ēaðe, <i>easily</i>	īeð	ēaðost
sōfte, <i>softly</i>	sēft	sōftest

NUMERALS.

54. The OE. numerals are as follows :

	<i>Cardinal</i>	<i>Ordinal</i>
1	ān	forma, ærest(a), fyrnrest(a), fyr(e)st(a)
2	twēgen, twā, tū	ōðer, æfterra
3	ðrīe, ðrēo	ðridda
4	fēower	fēorða
5	fif	fifta
6	siex	siexta
7	seofon	seoforða
8	eahta	eahtoða
9	nigon	nigoða
10	tīen	tēoða
11	en(d)lefan	en(d)lefta
12	twelf	twelfta
13	ðritīene, ðrēotīene	ðrēotēoða
14	fēowertīene	fēowertēoða
15	fiftīene	fiftēoða
16	siextīene	siextēoða
17	seofontīene	seofontēoða
18	eahtatīene	cahtatēoða
19	nigontīene	nigontēoða
20	twēntig	twēntigoða
21	ān ond twēntig	ān ond twēntigoða
30	ðritig	ðritigoða
40	fēowertig	fēowertigoða
50	fiftig	fiftigoða
60	siextig •	siextigoða
70	hundseofontig	hundseofontigoða
80	hundeahatig	hundeahatigoða
90	hundnigontig	hundnigontigoða
100	hundertig, hund, hundred	hundertigoða

101	ān hund ƿnd ān	ān ƿnd hundtēontigoða
110	hundendlefantig	hundendlefantigoða
120	hundtwelftig	hundtwelftigoða
200	tū (twā) kund	
300	ðrēo hund	
1000	(ān) ðūsēd	

NOTES. (1) The ordinals follow the weak declension, with the exception of *ðēr*, which is always strong, and *ārest(a)*, *fyrrest(a)*, *fyrest(a)*, which are both strong and weak (like other superlatives).

(2) OE. has numerals like German *anderthalb* (second half), one and a half, *vierthalb* (fourth half), three and a half, etc. Thus we find *feorðe healf hund scipa*, 350 ships; *fifte healf hund* = 450; *ðßer healf hund* = 150.

(3) Slight variations in the endings are met with, such as *-cða* for *oða* in *cahteða*, eighth; *-tiogoða*, *-teogða*, *-tēoða* for *-tigoða*.

(4) The formation of the numerals 70, 80, 90, 100, 110, 120, has not been satisfactorily explained.

(5) There are no ordinals for 200 and upwards.

55. Declension of Cardinals.

(a) *Ān*, one, is declined as follows:

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
<i>Nom.</i>	ān	ān	ān
<i>Acc.</i>	ānne, ƿenne	ān	āne
<i>Gen.</i>	ānes		ānre
<i>Dat.</i>	ānum		ānre
<i>Instr.</i>	āne, ƿne		

NOTES. (1) Plural forms (like those of *gōd*, § 43) are rare, but the gen. pl. occurs in the phrase *ānra gehwīlc*, each one.

(2) The weak form *āna* means "alone."

(b) *Twēgen*, two.

<i>N. Acc.</i>	twēgen	tū, twā	twā
		twēg(e)a, twēgra	
		twām, twām	

With this cp. the declension of *bēgen*, both:

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
<i>N. Acc</i>	bēgen	bū	bā
<i>Gen.</i>	bēg(r)a		
<i>Dat.</i>	bāem, bām		

NOTE. (3) Here there is some tendency to confusion of genders. The fem. form *twā* is used for the neuter. *Bā* and *twā* are often conjoined, and then *bā twā* is masc. and fem., and *bū tū* (also in one word) neuter.

(c) *Drīe*, three.

	Drīe	Drēo	Drōo
<i>N. Acc.</i>	Drīe	Drēo	Drōo
<i>Gen.</i>	Drēora		
<i>Dat.</i>	Drīm		

(d) 4 to 19 are indeclinable when used as adjs. (i.e. with a noun); they are declined like *Engle* (§ 34), *-a*, *-um*, when used absolutely. Exs.:

fēowera sum, *one of four*, i.e. with three others;

ṡāra twelf hēahfædera, *of the twelve patriarchs*.

(e) 20 to 120 (multiples of ten only) were originally neuter nouns governing a gen., but are also used as adjs. They are sometimes uninflected, sometimes have a gen. in *es*, but most commonly have gen. in *-ra*, *-a*, dat. in *-um*. Exs.:

hundseofontig mīla, 70 miles;

eahta ond fēowertiges elna long, 48 ells long;

æfter Drītigra daga fæce, *after the space of 30 days*;

æfter siextegum daga, *after 60 days*;

Drītigum nihtum ær, 30 days before.

(f) **Hund**, hundred, is usually uninflected, but in EWS. has a dat. (= dat. pl.) in *-e*; in either case it usually governs a gen.:

fiftiene hund ṡūsend monna, 1,500,000 men;

mid fēower hunde scipa, *with 400 ships*.

(g) **Þūsēnd**, thousand, has the inflections of a neuter noun, gen. *Þūsēndes*, pl. *Þūsēnd*, -u, -o, gen. -a (-ra), dat. -um; it is also uninflected:

fela Þūsēnda (gen. pl.) ofslagenra, many thousands of slain;
Þūsēnd monna bigleofa, the food of a thousand men.

(h) In **compound numbers**, both cardinal and ordinal, the smaller numerals remain uninflected:

ðāra twā ond twēntigra monna, of those twenty-two men;
fēower hunde wintrum & fēower & siextigum (dat.), 464 years;
on ðām ān ond ðritigoðan psalme, in the 31st psalm;

but exceptionally (possibly by attraction):

on ðām twāem ond on fēowerteogðan gēare, in the 42nd year.

PRONOUNS AND ADJECTIVE-PRONOUNS.

I. PERSONAL¹.

56. First Person, *ic*, I; Second Person, *ðū*, thou.

	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Dual.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
<i>Nom.</i>	<i>ic</i>	<i>wit</i>	<i>wē</i>
<i>Acc.</i>	<i>mec, mē</i>	<i>uncit, unc</i>	<i>ūsic, ūs</i>
<i>Gen.</i>	<i>mīn</i>	<i>uncer</i>	<i>ūser, ūre</i>
<i>Dat.</i>	<i>mē</i>	<i>unc</i>	<i>ūs</i>
<i>Nom.</i>	<i>ðū</i>	<i>git</i>	<i>gē</i>
<i>Acc.</i>	<i>ðec, ðē</i>	<i>incit, inc</i>	<i>ēowic, ēow</i>
<i>Gen.</i>	<i>ðīn</i>	<i>incer</i>	<i>ēower</i>
<i>Dat.</i>	<i>ðē</i>	<i>inc</i>	<i>ēow</i>

NOTE. (1) The accusatives *mec, ðec, uncit, incit, ūsic, ēowic*, are early or poetical.

¹ *Hē, hēo, hit*, is properly a demonstrative pronoun of the 3rd person, being used to indicate *things and persons alike*.

Third Person, *hē* (m.), he, it; *hēo* (f.), she, it; *hit* (n.), it.

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
		<i>Singular.</i>	
<i>Nom.</i>	<i>hē</i>	<i>hit</i>	<i>hēo</i> (<i>hīe</i>)
<i>Acc.</i>	<i>hi(e)ne</i>	<i>hit</i>	<i>hīe</i> (<i>hēo</i>)
<i>Gen.</i>		<i>his</i>	<i>hiere</i> •
<i>Dat.</i>		<i>him</i>	<i>hiere</i>

Plural.

<i>N. Acc.</i>	<i>hīe</i> (<i>hēo</i>), <i>they</i>
<i>Gen.</i>	<i>hiera</i> , <i>heora</i>
<i>Dat.</i>	<i>him</i>

NOTE. (2) There are numerous alternative forms with which the above and the following declensions might be cumbered and obscured. Generally it may be said, that *i* may be found for *ie*, and *io*, *īo* for *eo*, *ēo*, and *io* for *i* followed in the next syllable by a guttural vowel; later *i*, *y*, for *ie* (short and long) is universal, and *i* and *y* interchange pretty freely. See Part II. Special LWS. forms are nom. pl. *hig*, dat. pl. *heom* (to distinguish from the sing.).

II. REFLEXIVE.

57. The possessive *sīn*, his, her, its, is the only relic of a reflexive pronoun in OE. The personal pronouns of all persons are used reflexively, both with and without *self*, which is declined like a strong adj.: *ic self*, *ðē selfne*, *him selfum*, *ūre selfra*, *ēow selfum*, etc. Sometimes *self* appears to be uninflected, when it really agrees with the subject, not with the pron. with which it is conjoined: *God fōrescēawað him self ðā offrunge*, God [him]self will provide for him[self] the offering. The weak form *selfa* is also found: *God selfa*; but, except in the nom. sing. masc., it usually occurs after the def. art. in the sense of *se ilca*, the same.

III. POSSESSIVE (Adjectives).

58. The genitive cases of the personal prons. are used as possessive adjs.: *mīn*, *ðīn*, *uncer*, *incer*, *ūre* (*ūser*), *ēower*, are *fully inflected* according to the strong declension; *his*, *hiere*, *hiera*, are *indeclinable*, and may therefore be parsed, at will, as *indeclinable poss. adjs.*, or as *personal prons.* in the gen. case.

Paradigm: *ūre*, *our*

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
		<i>Singular.</i>	
<i>Nom.</i>	ūre	ūre	ūre (<i>not</i> ūru)
<i>Acc.</i>	ūrne	ūre	ūre
<i>Gen.</i>	ūres		ūr(r)e
<i>Dat.</i>	ūrum		ūr(r)e
<i>Instr.</i>	ūre		
		<i>Plural.</i>	
<i>N. Acc.</i>		ūre	
<i>Gen.</i>		ūr(r)a	
<i>Dat.</i>		ūrum	

NOTES. (1) *Ēower*, your, syncopates the *e* before a vowel, and may even contract *ēowerre*, *ēowerra*, to *ēowre*, *ēowra*. Its nom. pl. neut. is *ēowru*.

(2) *Ūser*=*ūre*, our, assimilates *sr* to *ss* in the syncopated forms: dat. *ūssum*=*ūrum*.

(3) *Sīn*, his, her, its, is poetic.

(4) *Ūre* and *ēower*, when they are gen. pls. of the personal pronouns and not possessive adjectives, are apt to be attracted into agreement with the following word, on which in reality they depend: *ēowra selfra onweald*=*ēower selfra onweald*, rule over yourselves; *ūres nānes*=*ūre nānes*, of none of us.

IV. DEMONSTRATIVE.

59. (a) Sē, sēo, ōæt, the, that.

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
		<i>Singular.</i>	
<i>Nom.</i>	sē	ōæt	sēo
<i>Acc.</i>	ōone	ōæt	ōā
<i>Gen.</i>		ōæs	ōære
<i>Dat.</i>		ōæm (ōām)	ōære
<i>Instr.</i>		ōȳ (ōon)	

Plural.

<i>N. Acc.</i>	ōā
<i>Gen.</i>	ōāra (ōæra)
<i>Dat.</i>	ōæm (ōām)

NOTE. The instrumental ōon is almost always neuter, being used chiefly either with adverbial force, as in ōon mā, the more, or in adverbial phrases, for ōon, on that account, to ōon, to that extent, etc., or in compound conjunctions, ær ōon ōe, before, etc. The other forms in parentheses are later.

(b) Des, ōeos, ōis, this.

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
		<i>Singular.</i>	
<i>Nom.</i>	ōes	ōis	ōeos
<i>Acc.</i>	ōisne	ōis	ōās
<i>Gen.</i>		ōis(s)es	ōisse
<i>Dat.</i>		ōis(s)um	ōisse
<i>Instr.</i>		ōȳs	

Plural.

<i>N. Acc.</i>	ōās
<i>Gen.</i>	ōissa
<i>Dat.</i>	ōis(s)um

NOTE. This adj.-pron. is compounded of the demonstrative sē (North. ē) and the particle -se = behold.

V. RELATIVE.

60. The place of a relative pronoun, which OE. lacks, is supplied in four ways:

(a) By the demonstrative *sē, sēo, ðæt*, used as a relative of the 3rd person. Ex.: *ān æstel, sē bið on fiftigum mancessa, a bookmark, which shall be worth fifty half-crowns.*

(b) By *sē, sēo, ðæt*, immediately followed by the particle *ðe*: *sē ðe, sēo ðe, ðæt ðe* (*ðætte*)—3rd person only. Ex.: *suma bēc, ðā ðe nīedbeðearfosta sīen, some books, which may be most necessary.*

NOTE. (1) If *sē* etc., is separated from *ðe*, it is to be regarded as the antecedent, not as part of the relative; we also find *sē* (antec.)...*sē ðe* (rel.).

(c) By the particle *ðe* alone—all persons. Ex.: *wīsdōm ðe ðē God sealde, wisdom which God gave thee.*

(d) By the particle *ðe* followed by a personal pronoun of any person: *ðe ic*, (I) who; *ðe ðū* (thou) who; *ðe hine*, whom. Ex.: *nis nū cwicra nān, ðe ic him mōdsefan mīne durre āsecgan, there is now no one of the living to whom I dare unburden my heart.*

NOTE. (2) Other words, as in the above ex., may intervene between *ðe* and the following personal pronoun, especially in the genitive of the 3rd person: *ðe...his, ðe...hiere, ðe...hiera*, whose.

VI. INTERROGATIVE

61. *Hwā, hwæt*, who? what?

	Masc.	Neut.
Nom.	hwā	hwæt
Acc.	hwone	hwæt
Gen.	hwæs	
Dat.	hwām, hwām	
Instr.	hwȳ (hwon)	

NOTES. (1) *Hwā, hwæt*, like *hweder* (which of two) and *hwile* (which), is an interrogative (both direct and indirect) and indefinite pronoun, but not a relative pronoun.

(2) The instrumental *hwon* (cp. *ðon*) is only used in adverbial phrases, such as *for hwon, tō hwon, why.*

VII. INDEFINITE.

62. *Hwā*, *hwæt*, someone, something, *hwæðer*, one of two, and *hwile* (*hwelc*, *hwylc*), any(one), are used as indefinite pronouns in interrogative and negative sentences. They may all three be compounded with *ā*-, *ge*-, and *ā + ge* (< *gī*) > *æg*-, so that we get the following scheme of indefinite pronouns :

	<i>hwā</i>	<i>hwæðer</i>	<i>hwile</i>
<i>ā</i> -	<i>āhwā</i> , <i>anyone</i>	<i>āhwæðer</i> , <i>one of two</i>	<i>āhwile</i> , <i>whatsoever</i>
<i>ge</i> -	<i>gehwā</i> , <i>each one</i>	<i>gehwæðer</i> , <i>both</i>	<i>gehwile</i> , <i>each</i>
<i>æg</i> -	<i>æghwā</i> , <i>each one</i>	<i>æghwæðer</i> , <i>either, each</i>	<i>æghwile</i> , <i>each</i>

These, together with

<i>āwiht</i> , <i>ought</i> , <i>anything</i>	<i>swelc</i> , <i>such</i>
<i>ælc</i> , <i>each</i>	<i>swā hwā swā</i> , <i>whoever</i>
<i>ænig</i> , <i>any</i>	<i>swā hwile swā</i> , <i>which</i>

are the most important indef. prons. in OE.

NOTES. (1) The declension of *hwā* is given in § 61. All the other words mentioned above (except *āwiht*, *-es*, *-e*) are declined like strong adjs.

(2) *Hwā* and its compounds and *āwiht* are substantive pronouns; the others are adj.-prons., i.e. may be used either as prons. or in agreement with a noun.

(3) To several of the above words *n* can be prefixed, and thus the corresponding negative word is obtained: *nænig*, *nān*, none, *nāwiht*, *naught*, *nāhwæðer*, *neither*.

(4) Some of the above words have forms and contractions that differ from one another very considerably. Thus *æghwæðer* > *ægðer* = *either*; *āhwæðer* - *ðhwæðer* > *ð(w)ðer*; *nāwiht* = *nāwihht* > *nā(u)ht* = *naught*, and so on.

VERBS.

63. OE. verbs are divided into two main classes, Strong and Weak, and two minor classes, Past-Present and Anomalous. They have four moods, infinitive, indicative, subjunctive, and imperative (present); only two tenses, present and past (the pres. is often used as a future); two numbers and three persons; two participles, present (active) and past (passive). The infinitive has a dative case governed by *tō* which is often called the gerund. The passive voice is simply made up of the verb *wesan*, *bēon*, to be, followed by a past part., and is therefore not treated of here¹.

The principal parts of a verb are the infinitive, past singular, past plural, and past participle. To these is often added the 3rd sing. pres. indic. In weak verbs the past pl. is omitted, because in them it is formed from the past sing. (See §§ 67, 83.)

64. Strong Verbs and Weak Verbs.—Strong verbs may be distinguished from weak verbs in several ways:

(a) By the formation of the past tense. Strong verbs form their past tense by **gradation** of the root-vowel, as in *writan*, *wrāt*, write, wrote; weak verbs by adding the termination *-de* (*-te*) to the root. This is the main distinction. There is no gradation in weak verbs; there are no past tenses in *-de*, *-te*, in strong verbs.

(b) The past part. of strong verbs ends in *-en*, of weak verbs in *-d*, *-t*.

NOTE. The past part. also is formed by gradation in strong verbs. But, since Classes V, VI and VII have the same vowel in the past part. as in the infin., this is a much less conclusive test of a strong past part. than the ending.

(c) The roots of strong verbs are monosyllabic. All polysyllabic roots belong to the weak conjugation.

¹ The only relic of pass. inflection is in the forms *hūtte* (sing.), *hūttan* (pl.), pres. and past of *hūtan*, to be called.

(d) Strong verbs are original; a word showing the same root as a strong verb is derived from one of its stems. Weak verbs are derivative.

(e) Many strong verbs are intransitive; most transitive verbs are weak, and many have been formed from strong intrans. verbs:

<i>Strong.</i>		<i>Weak.</i>
cp. <i>cwelan</i> , die	and	<i>cwellan</i> , kill;
<i>licgan</i> , lie	„	<i>lēcgan</i> , lay;
<i>sittan</i> , sit	„	<i>settān</i> , set;
<i>beornan</i> , burn (intrans.)	„	<i>bærnān</i> , burn (trans.).

(f) Weak verbs originally joined all present endings to the root by means of *j* or *i*, and this *j* or *i* has remained in the infins. in *-ian* (*nerian*, *lufian*), and has left traces in the mutation of root-vowels (*hīeran*) and in the doubled consonants (< consonant + *j*) after a short root-vowel (*fremman*). Nearly all weak verbs in *-an* and a few in *-ian* have mutated root-vowels. **No strong verbs** (except those with *weak* presents) **have infins. in *-ian*, or mutated root-vowels, or doubled¹ consonants.**

NB. A mutated root-vowel (§ 3) therefore infallibly denotes a weak verb (or a “weak present,” § 80).

(g) On the other hand, a mutated vowel in the 2nd and 3rd sing. pres., with an unmutated root-vowel in the infin., is a mark of strong verbs (§ 68); weak verbs have the same vowel, whether mutated or unmutated, in the infin. and in the 2nd and 3rd sing. pres.

(h) The following are characteristic of weak verbs (but not of all weak verbs): *i*, *ig*, *ige* before the endings *-an*, *-anne*, *-að*, *-e*, *-en*, *-ende*; 2nd and 3rd sing. pres. in *-ast*, *að*; imperative sing. in *-e* or *-a*.

NB. Tests (f), (g), (h) are useless for a dozen strong verbs with *weak presents*, for which see § 80.

¹ Doubled, not double. The strong verbs *feallan*, *weallan*, *bynnan*, etc., have original double consonants, not doubled before *j*.

65. **Endings.**—For the sake of comparison a scheme of the normal endings of strong and weak verbs respectively is here given, but they will be better learnt in the paradigms of the verbs themselves.

	Strong.	Weak.	
		Classes I., II.	III.
<i>PRESENT Indicative.</i>			
<i>Sing.</i> 1.	-e	-e	-ie
2.	-(e)st	-(e)st	-ast
3.	-(e)ð	-(e)ð	-að
<i>Plur.</i> 1, 2, 3.	-að	-að	-iað
<i>PRESENT Subjunctive.</i>			
<i>Sing.</i> 1, 2, 3.	-e	-e	-ie
<i>Plur.</i> 1, 2, 3.	-en	-en	-ien
<i>PAST Indicative.</i>			
<i>Sing.</i> 1.		-(e)de, -te	-ode
2.	-e	-(e)dest, -test	-odest
3.		-(e)de, -te	-ode
<i>Plur.</i> 1, 2, 3.	-on	-(e)don, -ton	-odon
<i>PAST Subjunctive.</i>			
<i>Sing.</i>	-e	-(e)de, -te	-ode
<i>Plur.</i>	-en	-(e)den, -ten	-oden
<i>Imperative.</i>			
<i>Sing.</i> 2.		(-e)	-a
<i>Plur.</i> 2.	-að	-að	-iað
<i>Infinitive.</i>			
	-an	-an	-ian
<i>Participles.</i>			
<i>Pres.</i>	-ende	-ende	-iende
<i>Past.</i>	-en	-(e)d, -t	-od

NOTE. It must be remembered that, as will be seen from the following paradigm, the gradation of the root-vowel in strong verbs is more important than the endings for distinguishing one part of the verb from another and for distinguishing a strong from a weak verb.

I. STRONG VERBS.

66. Paradigm: *rīdan*, ride.

	Present.	Past.
	<i>Indicative.</i>	
<i>Sing.</i> 1.	<i>rīde</i>	<i>rād</i>
2.	<i>rīdest, rītst</i>	<i>ride</i>
3.	<i>rīdeð, rīt(t)</i>	<i>rād</i>
<i>Plur.</i>	<i>rīdað</i>	<i>ridon</i>

	<i>Subjunctive.</i>	
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>rīde</i>	<i>ride</i>
<i>Plur.</i>	<i>rīden</i>	<i>riden</i>

	<i>Imperative.</i>	
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>rīd</i>	
<i>Plur.</i>	<i>rīdað</i>	

Infinitive.
rīdan, dat. -anne.

Participles.
rīdende *geriden*

Variants. (a) Instead of the pres. subj. plur. *rīden* we regularly find *rīde*, when the prons. *wē, gē*, follow immediately: *rīde wē, gē* (a kind of jussive subjunctive), let us ride, ride (ye). This usage was extended to the pres. and past indic., so that *rīde gē?* = do ye ride? and *ride gē?* = did ye ride?

This remark applies equally to weak verbs; as also do the following as far as weak verbs have the same terminations.

(b) Past parts. of both strong and weak verbs usually have the prefix *ge-*, which is, however, rarely found before another prefix.

(c) The earlier endings of the sing. pres. indic. were : 1st pers. *-u, -o* ; 2nd pers. *-is > -es* ; 3rd pers. *-ið*. Hence the *i*-mutation of the root-vowel, (there can be no *i*-mutation of *i*) in the 2nd and 3rd sing. pres. indic. of strong verbs (§ 68).

(d) The final *-t* of the 2nd pers. sing. is the emaciated remnant of *ðū*, thou ; a few forms ending in *-sð* are extant : *rides + ðū > ridesð > ridest*. Similarly, an epithetic *-t* has been added to the 2nd sing. past of weak verbs.

(e) The past indic. pl. originally ended in *-un* ; later texts often have *-an*.

(f) The subjunctive pl. *pres.* frequently ends in *-an* ; in the *past*, later texts often take over the *-on* of the indic.

(g) The usual ending of the dative infin. or gerund is *-anne*, but *-en(n)e* (§ 33) is not uncommon.

67. Principal Parts.—It will be seen from the paradigm given in § 66 that, through the *gradation* of the root-vowel, the strong verb *rīdan* has at least three different stems : *rīd-, rād-, rid-*. The number of different stems in a strong verb is sometimes four, as in *bēod-an, bēud, buđ-on, bod-en* ; *ber-an, bær, bær-on, bor-en*. We say then that the OE. strong verb has **four stems**, which are *not necessarily different*. These four stems are best shown in the four principal parts : (1) infin., (2) past sing., (3) past pl., (4) past part., as seen in the examples just given. Thus the importance of knowing the principal parts of a strong verb is evident, because all the other parts are formed from them *by simply changing the endings as shown in the paradigm of § 66*. The following scheme shows what parts are formed from each of the principal parts :

From	Are formed	Tenses.
Infinitive	<i>All present forms</i>	Pres. Indic. Pres. Subj. Imperative Pres. Part.
Past 1st and 3rd Sing.	<i>None</i>	
Past Plur.	<i>All past forms</i>	Past Indic. 2nd Sing. Past Subj.
Past Part.	<i>Passive Voice only.</i>	

2nd and 3rd Singular Present.

68. It will have been noticed² that two forms, syncopated and unsyncopated, of the 2nd and 3rd sing. pres. indic. were given in the paradigm of *riðan*. Moreover, a verb with root-vowel *i* was purposely chosen because there would have been mutation of almost any other vowel in the above parts (as explained in § 66 c). These two things then demand a little attention in forming the 2nd and 3rd sing. pres. of strong verbs: (i) Mutation of root-vowel; (ii) Syncope, and consequent changes.

(i) **Mutation of root-vowel.** *Rule:* Form the 2nd and 3rd sing. pres. indic. of strong verbs with mutated root-vowel, according to the following scheme:

<i>Original Vowel</i>	<i>Mutated Vowel</i>	<i>Infin.</i>	<i>3rd Sin.</i>
a	u (§ 121)	faran, <i>go</i>	færð
ā	æ	blāwan, <i>blow</i>	blæwð
e	i (§§ 98, 120)	helpan, <i>help</i>	hilpð
ea	ie	healdan, <i>hold</i>	hielt
ēa	īe	hēawan, <i>hew</i>	hīewð
eo	ie (§ 120)	weorðan, <i>become</i>	wierð
ēo	īe (§ 120)	crēopan, <i>creep</i>	crīepð
ƿ	ę	stƿndan, <i>stand</i>	stęnt
ō	ē	blōwan, <i>bloom</i>	blēwð
u	y	cuman, <i>come</i>	cymð
ū	ȳ	brūcan, <i>enjoy</i>	brȳcð

ē, i, ī, ie, are not affected by *i*-mutation.

NOTES. (1) •Empirical rules for forming the 2nd and 3rd sing. pres. from the infin. are often helpful and usually harmless. But it must be clearly understood that these parts are not *derived* from the OE. infin., but from their own earlier prehistoric forms, and it is at times of the utmost importance that the fact

should be as clearly stated. Thus *bireð* can be traced step by step from the Indo-Germanic form *bhereti*; to say that it is formed from the root of *beran* by the addition of *-eð*, with mutation of the root-vowel, is certainly both inaccurate and misleading.

(2) Syncopated forms with mutated vowels, as above, are the rule in EWS., although unsyncopated forms both with mutated and with unmutated vowels are also found: *bireð* from *beran*, *býgeð* from *bāgan*, *weorðeð* from *weorðan*.

(3) Unsyncopated forms without *i*-mutation are the rule in Anglian.

69. (ii) **Syncope, etc.** The *e* of the endings *-est*, *-eð*, in the 2nd and 3rd sing. pres. indic., is regularly dropped in EWS., and the following changes take place in the consonants thus brought together.

NB. *These changes are not peculiar to strong verbs, but take place also in weak verbs (Classes 1 and 2) when the specified conditions are present.*

Persons.

2nd, 3rd. (a) Double consonants are simplified: *winn(e)st* > *winst*, *winn(e)ð* > *winð*; *fyll(e)st* > *fylst*, *fyll(e)ð* > *fylð*.

2nd. (b) Before *-st*, *d* > *t*, and *s*, *ð* and *st* are dropped: *find(e)st* > *fintst*; *stend(e, st)* > *stentst*; *cīes(e)st* > *cīest*; *wierð(e)st* > *wierst*; *cwið(e)st* > *cwist*; *birst(e)st* > *birst*.

3rd. (c) *d* or *t* + *ð* > *t* after a consonant, > *tt* or *t* after a vowel: *find(e)ð* > *fint*; *birst(e)ð* > *birst* (thus the 2nd and 3rd sing. of roots ending in *st* became identical); *fæst(e)ð* > *fæst*; *bīd(e)ð* > *bīt(t)*; *grēt(e)ð* > *grēt(t)*; *seġ(e)ð* > *seġt*. Similarly *ð* + *ð* > *ð* after a consonant, > *ðð* or *ð* after a vowel: *wierð(e)ð* > *wierð*; *cwið(e)ð* > *cwið(ð)*.

3rd. (d) *s* + *ð* usually > *-st*, but in early texts *-sð* also remains: *forlīes(e)ð* > *forlīest*; *wieæ(e)ð* > *wieæst* (*x* = *h* + *s*); *cīes(e)ð* > *cīest* (thus the 2nd and 3rd sing. of roots ending in *s* became identical).

2nd, 3rd. (e) *g* sometimes > *h* before *-st* and *-ð*, but chiefly in later texts: *stīg(e)st* > *stihst*; *līeg(e)ð* > *līeġð*.

NB. The above rules are given here in order that the succeeding sections on "gradation," with which they have properly nothing to do, may not be cumbered with them, and because they could not be postponed till later. The student must pay due attention to them, so that, when gradation has been mastered, he may be in a position to conjugate in full every OE. strong verb. One or two examples from each strong class are appended ("weak presents" and contracted verbs are treated separately); the 2nd and 3rd sing. pres. of every verb mentioned in the following §§ should be written out in the same way.

<i>Class</i>	<i>Infin.</i>	<i>2nd Sing.</i>	<i>3rd Sing</i>
I. ("Shine")	ārīsan, <i>arise</i> bīdan, <i>wait</i> bītan, <i>bite</i> mīðan, <i>avoid</i>	ārīst bītst bītst mīst	ārīst bīt(t) bīt(t) mīð(ð)
II. ("Creep")	bēodan, <i>order</i> scēotan, <i>shoot</i> lūcan, <i>lock</i>	bīetst scīetst lȳcst	bīet(t) scīet(t) lȳcð
IIIa. ("Help")	helpan, <i>help</i> feohtan, <i>fight</i>	hīlpst fīehtst	hīlpð fīeht
b. ("Drink")	drincan, <i>drink</i>	drīncst	drīncð
IV. ("Bear")	beran, <i>bear</i>	bir(e)st	bir(e)ð
V. ("Tread")	tredan, <i>tread</i>	tritst	trit(t)
VI. ("Fare")	faran, <i>go</i>	færst	færð
VII. (Reduplicating)	blāwan, <i>blow</i> lāetan, <i>let</i> healdan, <i>hold</i> hēawan, <i>hew</i> • blōndan, <i>blend</i> • blōwan, <i>bloom</i>	blāwst lāetst hīeltst hīewst • blēntst • blēwst	blāwð lāet(t) hīelt hīewð • blēnt • blēwð

GRADATION (*Ablaut*).

70. Strong verbs are conjugated principally by the use of different stems in the same verb, these stems being related to one another by the "gradation" of the root-vowel without other change. Gradation in OE. then may be defined as a series of relations between primary vowels by which alone the stems of a strong verb are differentiated. There are seven classes of strong verbs in OE., distinguished from one another by the graded vowels of the four stems. The following table shows these vowels in what may be called

GRADATION-ROWS.

<i>Class</i>	<i>Pres.</i>	<i>Past Sing.</i>	<i>Past Plur.</i>	<i>Past Par</i>
I. ("Shine")	ī	ū	i	i
II. ("Creep")	ēo (ū)	ēa	u	o
IIIa. ("Help")	e, eo	ea	u	o
b. ("Drink")	i	o	u	u
IV. ("Bear")	e	æ	æ	o
V. ("Tread")	e	æ	æ	e
VI. ("Fare")	a	ō	ō	a
VII. (Redupl.)	{ā, æ, ea, ēa, o, ō	ēo, ē	ēo, ē,	same as pres

NOTES. (1) NB. The past sing. and plur. of the 7th Class were originally formed by Reduplication of the root syllable

(cp. Lat. *do, dedi*; Gk. *δίδωμι, δέδωκα*), in some verbs with, in others without, gradation. Since the traces of the original reduplication are very few in OE., it is best for the present to rank Class VII. with the other gradation-classes, whilst retaining the name "Reduplicating."

(2) It will be noticed that only in Classes II., IIIa., and IV. are there *four different stems*; that in Classes I., IIIb., and V. there are *three different stems*, and that in Classes VI. and VII. there are only *two different stems*. Nevertheless, excluding past parts. (which cannot be mistaken for any other part), *no pres. form of a strong verb has the same root-vowel as any past form of the same verb*.

(3) The importance of the gradation-rows just given can hardly be exaggerated. They are most easily remembered by learning the principal parts of the verb selected as the name of each class (except in Class VII., in which the vowels of the present are various):

<i>Class</i>	<i>Infin.</i>	<i>Past Sing.</i>	<i>Past Plur.</i>	<i>Past Part.</i>
I. ("Shine")	scīnan	scān	scīnon	scīnen
II. ("Creep")	crēopan	crēap	crupon	cropen
IIIa. ("Help")	helpan	healp	hulpon	holpen
b. ("Drink")	drīncan	drōnc	drīncon	druncen
IV. ("Bear")	beran	bær	bæron	boren
V. ("Tread")	tredan	træd	trædon	treden
VI. ("Fare")	faran	fōr	fōron	faren

(4) *Given the class of a strong verb, the gradation-rows, together with the rules of §§ 68, 69, suffice for the complete conjugation of all perfectly regular* (i.e. the majority of) Old English strong verbs. Irregularities are fully dealt with in their place.

71. How to tell the class of a strong verb.

In the gradation-rows as repeated below, the vowels printed **black** are in themselves conclusive (irregularities apart) as to the class of the verbs in which they are found, since they occur nowhere else in strong verbs *in the same parts*¹; as to those printed in *italic* there is more or less uncertainty, which is removed however by the hints given at the foot.

<i>Class</i>	<i>Infim.</i>	<i>Past Sing.</i>	<i>Past Plur.</i>	<i>Past Part.</i>
I. ("Shine")	ī	ā	i	i
II. ("Creep")	ēo, ū	ēa	u	o
IIIa. ("Help")	e, eo	ea	u	o
b. ("Drink")	i	q(a)	u	u
IV. ("Bear")	e	æ	ē	o
V. ("Tread")	e	æ	ē	e
VI. ("Fare")	a	ō	ō	a
VII. (Redupl.)	{ā, æ, ea, ēa, q, ō	ēo, ǣ	ēo, ǣ	ā, æ, ea, ēa, q, ō

The only uncertainty therefore lies between Classes II., III., IV. and V., and that is completely dispelled by the following statements:

The stem-vowel in Classes II. ("Creep") and V. ("Tread")—between which there is no uncertainty—is followed by a single consonant which is not *l* or *r* (except in past parts. *coren*, *droren*, *forloren*, *froren*, *hroren*; see § 73).

The stem-vowel in Class III. is followed by two (or more) consonants, the first of which is a nasal in (*b*) ("Drink"), but not in (*a*) ("Help").

The stem-vowel in Class IV. ("Bear") is followed by *l* or *r* only (except in *brecan*).

¹ It is assumed that *drincan*, e.g., will not be taken for a past plur. or past part. of Class I.

CLASSES OF STRONG VERBS.

72. Class I ("Shine"). Gradation-row: ī ā i i.
A regular verb of this class is conjugated in full in § 66. The following are among the commonest verbs of the class,* their principal parts are not given here because the student is expected to write them out for himself:

bīdan, <i>wait</i>	scīnan, <i>shine</i>
bītan, <i>bite</i>	sīgan, <i>sink</i>
drīfan, <i>drive</i>	slītan, <i>slit</i>
gewītan, <i>depart</i>	stīgan, <i>ascend, descend</i>
grīpan, <i>seize</i>	<i>cease.</i>
writan, <i>write.</i>	

Irregular.

(a) The following verbs come under Verner's Law (see § 169), and accordingly have *d* in place of *ð* in the past plur. and past part.:

<i>Infn.</i>	<i>Past Sing.</i>	<i>Past Pl.</i>	<i>Past Part.</i>
līðan, <i>go</i>	lāð	lidon	geliden
scrīðan, <i>proceed</i>	scrāð	scridon	gescriden
snīðan, <i>cut</i>	snāð	snidon	gesniden

Whereas Verner's Law fails in

mīðan, <i>avoid</i>	(ā)rīsan, (<i>a</i>)rise
wriðan, <i>bind</i>	gerīsan, <i>befit</i>

which therefore retain *ð* or *s* throughout.

(b) For the contracted verbs *lēon*, *tēon* (accuse), *ðēon*, *wrēon*, see § 81.

73. Class II ("Creep"). Gradation-row : ēo, ū ēa u o.
 Paradigm : crēopan, crēap, crupon, copen.

	Present	Past
	<i>Indicative.</i>	
<i>Sing.</i> 1.	crēope	creap
2.	criepst	crupe
3.	crīepð	creap
<i>Plur.</i>	crēopað	crupon
	<i>Subjunctive.</i>	
<i>Sing.</i>	crēope	crupe
<i>Plur.</i>	crēopen	crupen
	<i>Imperative.</i>	
	crēop, crēopað	
	<i>Infinitive.</i>	
	crēopan, <i>dat.</i> -anne	
	<i>Participles.</i>	
	crēopende	geeropen

Among the commoner verbs of this class are

bēodan, <i>command</i>	nēotan, <i>enjoy</i>
brēotan, <i>break</i>	scēotan, <i>shoot</i>
clēofan, <i>sever</i>	
drēogan, <i>endure</i>	brūcan, <i>enjoy</i>
flēogan, <i>fly</i>	būgan, <i>boar</i>
flēotan, <i>float</i>	clufan, <i>dive</i>
gēotan, <i>pour</i>	lucan, <i>lock</i>
grēotan, <i>weep</i>	lutan, <i>stoop</i>
hrēowan, <i>rue</i>	seufan, <i>shore</i>
lāogan, <i>lie</i>	slupan, <i>glide</i>

NOTE. Verbs with *ā* in the present are otherwise perfectly regular : *būgan, bēag, bugon, bogen.*

Irregular.

(a) The following come under Verner's Law (§ 169), with *r* in place of *s*, and *d* in place of *ð*, in past plur. and past part.:

cēosan, <i>choose</i>	cēas	curon	gecoren
drēosan, <i>fall</i>	drēas	druron	gedroren
forlēosan, <i>lose</i>	forlēas	forluron	forloren
frēosan, <i>freeze</i>	frēas	fruron	gefroren
hrēosan, <i>fall</i>	hrēas	hruron	gehroren
sēoðan, <i>seethe</i>	sēað	sudon	gesoden

Whereas Verner's Law fails in

ābrēoðan, <i>fail</i>	ābroðen
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(b) For the contracted verbs *flēon*, *tēon* (draw), see § 81.

74. Class IIIa ("Help"). Gradation-row: e, eo ea u o.
Paradigm: *helpan*, *healp*, *hulpon*, *holpen*.

	Present	Past
	<i>Indicative.</i>	
<i>Sing.</i> 1.	helpe	healp
2.	hilpst	hulpe
3.	hilpð	healp
<i>Plur.</i>	helpað	hulpon
	<i>Subjunctive.</i>	
<i>Sing.</i>	helpe	hulpe
<i>Plur.</i>	helpen	hulpen
	<i>Imperative.</i>	
	help, helpað	
	<i>Infinitive.</i>	
	helpan, <i>dat.</i> -anne	
	<i>Participles.</i>	
	helpende	geholpe

Among the commoner verbs of this class are :

belgan, <i>be angry</i>	beorgan, <i>protect</i>
delfan, <i>dig</i>	ceorfan, <i>carve</i>
meltan, <i>melt</i>	feohtan, <i>fight</i>
swelgan, <i>swallow</i>	hweorfan, <i>turn</i>
swellan, <i>swell</i>	meolecan, <i>milk</i>
sweltan, <i>die</i>	steorfan, <i>die</i>
	weorpan, <i>throw</i>

NOTE. (1) The *ea* of the past sing. is a breaking of *a*, and the *eo* of the pres. is a breaking of *e*. The reason why some verbs have *e* and others *eo* in the present is, that *e* broke before *l* only when followed by *c* or *h* (§ 138).

Irregular.

(a) Under Verner's Law (§ 169) comes

weorðan, <i>become</i>	wearð	wurdon	geworden
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(b) For the verb *fēolan*, penetrate, see § 81.

(c) In three verbs *e* > *ie* after palatal *y* (see § 143) :

gielðan, <i>yield, pay</i>	geald	guldon	gegolden
giellan, <i>yell</i>	geal(l)	gullon	gegollen
gielpan, <i>boast</i>	gealp	gulpon	gegolpen

the pres. :

murnan, <i>mourn</i>	mearn	murnon
spurnan (spornan), <i>spurn</i>	spearn	spurnon

(e) Metathesis of *r* is seen in *berstan* < **brestan*¹ and *ðerscan* < **ðrescan* ; hence the normal change of *a* to *æ* (see § 100) in the past sing. instead of breaking (§ 136).

berstan, <i>burst</i>	bærst	burston	geborsten
ðerscan, <i>thresh</i>	ðærse	ðursecan	geðorsecan

¹ An asterisk before a word denotes that it is not extant in that form.

(f) The root-vowel is not followed by consonants that produce breaking (see § 3) in

bregdan, <i>brandish</i>	brægd	bruggdon	gebrogden
stregdan, <i>strew</i>	strægd	strugdon	gestrogden

with which may be remembered the anomalous

frignan, <i>inquire</i>	frægn	frugnon	gcfrugnen
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NOTES. (2) All these verbs often drop *g* with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel (see § 160), thus:

brēdan (3rd sing. brītt)	brīed	brūdon	gebrōden
frīnan	[frān (Class I)]	frūnon	gefrūnen

(3) *Stregdan* is also conjugated weak.

75. Class IIIb ("Drink"). Gradation-row: *i o u u*.
Paradigm: *drincan, drōnc, druncon, druncen*.

	Present		Past
		<i>Indicative</i>	
<i>Sing.</i> 1.	drince		drōnc
2.	drincest		drunce
3.	drincō		drōnc
<i>Plur.</i>	drincað		druncon
		<i>Subjunctive</i>	
<i>Sing.</i>	drince		drunce
<i>Plur.</i>	drincen		druncen
		<i>Imperative</i>	
	drinc, drincað		
		<i>Infinitive</i>	
	drincan, <i>dat.</i> -anne		
		<i>Participles</i>	
	drincende		gedruncen

Among the commoner verbs of this class are

bindan, <i>bind</i>	onginnan, <i>begin</i>	stincan, <i>stink</i>
(b)linnan, <i>cease</i>	sincan, <i>sink</i>	swimman, <i>swim</i>
limpan, <i>happen</i>	singan, <i>sing</i>	winnan, <i>fight</i>

NOTES. (1) The Primitive Germanic gradation-row of Class III was **e a u u**. The divergences from this of the English sub-classes "Help" and "Drink" are due to changes which took place partly in Germanic and partly in OE. (i) Germanic *e* > *i* before nasal+consonant: cp. *drincan* and *helpan*. (ii) Germanic *u* > *o* in strong past parts., *except* before nasal+consonant: cp. *geholpen*, *gedruncen*. (iii) OE. *a* > *ǣ* before a nasal (see § 149), and > *ea* (breaking) before *r*, *l*, *h*+consonant: cp. *drȳc*, *healp*. (iv) See § 74, Note (1).

(2) Double consonants are usually simplified when final: *swimman*, past sing. *swom(m)*, imperat. sing. *swim*.

Irregular.

(a) Metathesis of *r* is seen in *bi(e)rnan* (*beornan*) < **brinnan* and *i(e)rnan* < *rinnan* (extant in *tōrinnan*).

<i>bi(e)rnan</i> (<i>beornan</i>), <i>burn</i>	<i>burn</i> , <i>barn</i>	<i>burnon</i>	<i>geburnen</i>
<i>i(e)rnan</i> , <i>run</i>	<i>orn</i> , <i>arn</i>	<i>urnon</i>	<i>geurnen</i>

(b) *findan* has quasi-weak past sing. *funde* as well as *fīnd*.

(c) For *bringan* see § 90, and for *-ðungon*, *-ðungen*, § 81, N. 6.

76. Class IV ("Bear"). Gradation-row: **e æ ǣ o**.
Paradigm: *beran*, *bær*, *bāron*, *geboren*.

	Present		Past
		<i>Indicative.</i>	
<i>Sing.</i> 1.	<i>bere</i>		<i>bær</i>
2.	<i>bir(e)st</i> (<i>bierst</i>)		<i>bāre</i>
3.	<i>bir(o)ð</i> (<i>bierð</i> , § 140)		<i>bær</i>
<i>Plur.</i>	<i>berað</i>		<i>bāron</i>
		<i>Subjunctive.</i>	
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>bere</i>		<i>bāre</i>
<i>Plur.</i>	<i>beren</i>		<i>bāren</i>
		<i>Imperative.</i>	
	<i>ber</i> , <i>berað</i>		.
		<i>Infinitive.</i>	.
	<i>beran</i> , <i>dat.</i> - <i>anne</i>		
		<i>Participles.</i>	
	<i>berende</i>		<i>gebort</i>

The only important verbs of this class are

brecan, <i>break</i>	helan, <i>conceal</i>	teran, <i>tear</i>
cwelan, <i>die</i>	stelan, <i>steal</i>	

Irregular.

(a) *Scieran*, shear, cut, has diphthongised the vowels of the first three parts, *e* > *ie*, *æ* > *ea*, *ǣ* > *ēa*, under the influence of palatal *sc* (see § 143); but *scær*, *scāron*, are also found in poetry:

scieran	scear (scær)	scēaron (scāron)	gescoren
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(b) Especially important are

cuman, <i>come</i>	c(w)ūm	c(w)ūmon	(ge)cumen (cymen)
niman, <i>take</i>	nōm (nam)	nōmon (nāmon)	genumen.

NOTE. The *ū* of the past sing. is borrowed from the past plur., perhaps on the analogy of Class VI. For the other vowels see §§ 146, 148.

77. Class V ("Tread"). Gradation row: *c æ ǣ c*.
Paradigm: *tredan*, *træd*, *trǣdon*, *treden*.

	Present		Past
		<i>Indicative.</i>	
<i>Sing.</i> 1.	trede		træd
2.	tritst		træde
3.	trit(t)		træd
<i>Plur.</i>	tredað		trædon
		<i>Subjunctive.</i>	
<i>Sing.</i>	trede		træde
<i>Plur.</i>	treden		træden
		<i>Imperative.</i>	
	tred, tredað		
		<i>Infinitive.</i>	
	tredan, <i>dat.</i> -anne		
		<i>Participles.</i>	
	tredende		getreden

The only important verbs of this class are

drepan, <i>strike</i>	sprecan, <i>speak</i>
metan, <i>mete, measure</i>	wegan, <i>carry</i>
wrecan, <i>avenge</i>	

Irregular.

(a) Under Verner's Law (§ 169) come

cweðan, <i>say</i>	cwæð	cwædon	gecweden
wesan, <i>be</i>	was	wæron (§ 96)	

Whereas the law fails in

(ge)nesan, <i>survive</i>	(ge)næs	(ge)nāson	genesen
lesan, <i>collect</i>	læs	lāson	gelesen

(b) Diphthongisation due to palatal *g* is seen in all parts of

giefan, <i>give</i> (§ 143)	geaf	gēafon	gegiefen
-gietan, <i>get</i>	-geat	-gēaton	-gieten

(c) *Etan* and its compound *fretan* have *æ* in past sing. :

etan, <i>eat</i>	æt	æton	geeten
fretan, <i>devour</i>	fræt	fræton	freten

(d) For the **weak presents** *biddan*, *fricgan*, *liegan*, *sittan*, *siegan*, see § 80, and for the **contracted verbs** *gefēon*, *plēon*, *sēon*, see § 81.

78. Class VI ("Fare"). Gradation-row : *a* *ō* *ō* *a*.
Paradigm : *faran*, *fōr*, *fōron*, *faren*.

	Present		Past
		<i>Indicative.</i>	
<i>Sing.</i> 1.	fare		fōr
2.	færst		fōre
3.	færð		fōr
<i>Plur.</i>	farað		fōron
		<i>Subjunctive.</i>	
<i>Sing.</i>	fare		fōre
<i>Plur.</i>	faren		fōren

Imperative.

far, farað

*Infinitive.*faran, *dat.* -anne*Participles.*

farende

gefaren

The more important verbs of this class are

bacan, *bake*galan, *sing*hladan, *lode*dragan, *drag*grafan, *dig*sacan, *quarrel***Irregular.**

(a) Diphthongisation after palatal *sc* (§ 144) is frequent in
sc(e)acan, shake *scūc, scōoc* *scōcon, secccon* *ge-scacen*

(b) The weak verb *wæcnan* supplies the place of the lost pres.
**wacan* :

[*wæcnan*], *awake**wōc**wōcon*

(c) In two verbs *a > o* before *n* (§ 149) :

*spōnan, allure**spōn**spōnon**ge-spōnen**stōndan, stand**stōd**stodon**ge-stōden*

NOTE. The later past of *spōnan* is *spōn*, Class VII, to which class *wæcnan* (< **wahan*), *grow, went* over entirely.

(d) In several past parts. of this class mutated and unmutated forms alternate (see § 121) :

faren + faren

slegen, slagen + clagen | § 80

grafen + grafen

ðwegen, ðwægen + ðwægen |

hlæden + hlæden

hafen + hafen | § 81

sæcen + sæcen

seppen, seapen + seapen |

(e) For the weak presents *hlybban, hlybban, scyððan, scieppan, stæppan, swerian*, and for the contracted verbs *flōan, lēan, slēan, ðwōcan*, see §§ 80, 81.

79. Class VII (Reduplicating).

	<i>Infin. and Past Part.</i>	<i>Past</i>
Stem-vowels :	\bar{a} , $\bar{æ}$, ea , $\bar{ē}a$, o , \bar{o}	$\bar{e}o$, $\bar{ē}$.

Paradigms: feallan, fēoll, fēollon, feallen.
lātan, lēt, lēton, lāten.

	Present		Past	
		<i>Indicative.</i>		
<i>Sing.</i> 1.	fealle	lāte	fēoll	lēt
2.	fielt	lētst	fēolle	lēte
3.	fielð	lēt(t)	fēoll	lēt
<i>Plur.</i>	feallað	lētað	fēollon	lēton
		<i>Subjunctive.</i>		
<i>Sing.</i>	fealle	lāte	fēolle	lēte
<i>Plur.</i>	feallen	lāten	fēollen	lēten
		<i>Imperative.</i>		
	feall, feallað	lēt, lētað		
		<i>Infinitive.</i>		
	feallan,	lātan, <i>dat.</i> -anne		
		<i>Participles.</i>		
	feallende	lātende	gefællen	gelāten

NOTE. (1) The only remnant in EWS. prose of the earlier reduplication in the past tense is seen in *hēht* (<**hchāt*) from *hātan*; but *leole* from *lācan*, *reord* from *rādan*, (*on*)*dreord* from (*on*)*drādan*, and *leort* from *lātan*, are preserved in poetical or non-WS. texts.

The following are the chief verbs of this class. They are divided into two sub-classes according to the vowel of the past tense, and are then grouped according to the vowel of the present.

NB. All reduplicating verbs have *ēo* in the past tense, except those with *æ* in the present stem, and *hātan*, *lācan*, *scādan*, and *blēndan* (blend), besides *fon*, *hon* (§ 81).

I. Past tense in *eo*.

- | | | |
|-------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (i) | blāwan, <i>blow</i> | māwan, <i>mow</i> |
| | cnāwan, <i>know</i> | sāwan, <i>sow</i> |
| | crāwan, <i>crow</i> | swāpan, <i>sweep</i> |
| | θrāwan, <i>throw</i> | |
| (ii) | fealdan, <i>fold</i> | wealcan, <i>roll</i> |
| | feallan, <i>fall</i> | wealdan, <i>wield</i> |
| | healdan, <i>hold</i> | weallan, <i>well</i> |
| | weaxan, <i>grow</i> | |
| (iii) | bēatan, <i>beat</i> | hēawan, <i>hew</i> |
| | hlēapan, <i>leap</i> | |
| (iv) | hōnnan, <i>summon</i> | spōnnan, <i>join</i> |
| (v) | blōtan, <i>sacrifice</i> | hwōpan, <i>threaten</i> |
| | blōwan, <i>bloom</i> | rōwan, <i>row</i> |
| | flōwan, <i>flow</i> | spōwan, <i>succeed</i> |
| | grōwan, <i>grow</i> | swōgan, <i>sound, swoon</i> |

II. Past tense in *ē*.

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| (vi) | hātan, <i>command, call</i> | lācan, <i>play</i> |
| | scādan, <i>divide</i> | |

NOTE. (2) Besides *scādan*, *scēd*, etc., we find *scēadan*, *gescēaden*, with diphthongised vowel after palatal *sc* (§ 144), and an anomalous past *scēad*.

- | | | |
|-------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| (vii) | (on)drēdan, <i>dread</i> | rēdan, <i>counsel</i> |
| | lētan, <i>let</i> | slēpan, <i>sleep</i> |

NOTE. (3) Three of these verbs have also weak forms: *-drēdan* and *slēpan* have the weak pasts *-drēdde*, *slēpte*, as well as past part. *-drēd(d)*; while *rēdan*, *counsel*, *read*, is always weak in WS., except for one occurrence of the past part. *rēden*.

Irregular.

(a) *Gangan, gengan, go*, has past tense *gēong (gang)* and *gengde*, pp. *gegengen*. In prose, only *ēode*, the past tense of *gān* (see § 96), is used.

(b) For the **weak present** *wēpan*, and the **contracted** verbs *fōn, hōn*, see §§ 80, 81.

(c) *Bāan*, dwell, pp. *gebūn*, supplies the place of its lost past tense from the weak *bātan, bāde, gebūd*.

WEAK PRESENTS.

80. In Classes V., VI. and VII. there are a few verbs, otherwise strong, whose presents resemble those of weak verbs (i.e. were originally formed with *j* or *i*). They are

<i>Infn.</i>	<i>Past Si</i>	<i>Past Pl.</i>	<i>Past Part.</i>
Class V ("Tread").			
<i>bidan, request</i>	<i>bæd</i>	<i>bædon</i>	<i>gebæden</i>
<i>friegan, inquire</i>			{ <i>gefrogen</i> <i>gefrogen</i>
<i>liegan, lie</i>	<i>lwg</i>		<i>gelegen</i>
<i>sittan, sit</i>	<i>sæt</i>		<i>geseten</i>
<i>ðiegan, take</i>	<i>ðeah</i>		<i>geðegen</i>

Class VI ("Fare").

<i>hebban, heave</i>	<i>hōf</i>	<i>hōfon</i>	<i>gehafen</i>
<i>hliehhan, laugh</i>	<i>hlōh</i>	<i>hlogon</i>	
<i>scōðan, injure</i>	<i>scōd</i>	<i>scōdon</i>	
<i>scieppan, create</i>	<i>scōp</i>	<i>scōpon</i>	<i>gescæpen</i>
<i>stæppan (steppan), step</i>	<i>stōp</i>	<i>stōpon</i>	<i>gestāpen</i>
<i>swegrian, swear</i>	<i>swōr</i>	<i>sworon</i>	

Class VII (Redupl.).

<i>wēpan, weep</i>	<i>wēoƿ</i>	<i>wēoƿon</i>	<i>gewōƿen</i>
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Paradigms: biddan, liegan, hebban, swerian, wēpan.

PRESENT Indicative.

<i>Sing.</i> 1.	bidde	licge	hebbe	swerie	wēpe
2.	bideſt, biſt	lig(e)ſt	hef(e)ſt	ſwerest	wēp(e)ſt
3.	bideð, biſ(t)	lig(e)ð (lið)	hef(e)ð		
<i>Plur.</i>	biddað	licgað		ſweriað	wēpað

PRESENT Subjunctive.

<i>Sing.</i>	bidde	licge	hebbe	swerie	wēpe
<i>Plur.</i>	bidden	licgen	hebben	ſwerien	wēpen

PAST Indicative.

<i>Sing.</i> 1.	bæd	læg	hōf	swōr	wēop
2.	bæde	læge	hōfe	swōre	wēope
3.	bæd	læg	hōf	swōr	wēop
<i>Plur.</i>	bædon	lægon	hōfon	swōron	wēopon

PAST Subjunctive.

<i>Sing.</i>	bæde	læge	hōfe	swōre	wēope
<i>Plur.</i>	bæden	lægen	hōfen	swōren	wēopen

Imperative.

<i>Sing.</i> 2.	bide	lige	hefe	swere	wēp
<i>Plur.</i> 2.	biddað	licgað	hebbað	ſweriað	wēpað

Infinitive.

<i>Dat.</i>	(tō) biddanne	licganne	hebbanne	ſwerianne	wēpanne
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Participles.

<i>Pres.</i>	biddende	licgende	hebbende	ſweriende	wēpende
<i>Past.</i>	gebeden	gelegen	gehaſen	geſworen	gewōpen

NOTES. (1) Like *licgan* are conjugated the presents of *frigan*, *ðigan*; and like *biddan* the presents of all the other verbs with double consonants

(2) The principal parts, as given on p. 82, must be committed to memory, because of their great irregularity and the uselessness of applying §§ 70, 71, to them.

(3) The irregularities of these verbs are all seen in their principal parts. Otherwise, they are conjugated *in the present like regular weak verbs, and in the past like regular strong verbs*.

(4) These verbs may be recognised as having weak presents in four ways, which will be best appreciated by comparison with the tests for strong and for weak verbs in § 64:

(i) They have *mutated root-vowels throughout the present*. Strong presents have mutated vowels in the 2nd and 3rd sing. only (§ 68).

(ii) In the majority of them the original vowels, the mutated forms of which are seen in the present, are contained in the past participles. Strong verbs of Classes V., VI., and VII., have the same vowels in the present and in the past participle.

(iii) The original *j*, which is to be traced in the doubled consonants and in the *i* of *swerian* (see Note 5), is a mark of weak presents.

(iv) The imperative sing. in *-e* (except in *wēpan*) is peculiar to weak verbs.

(5) ¹Besides their weak presents, these verbs show several other irregularities. We often meet with the intrusive vowel, to which attention was called in § 34 (6), in *frig(e)an*, *lic(e)an*, *ðig(e)an*, *licgeað*, etc. *Swerian* alternates with *swer(i)g(e)an*. It is possible that the past parts. *fregen*, *frigen*, belong to the very irregular verb *frignan* of Class III. *Hlōgon* and *scōdon* come under Verner's Law. Besides *scēððan* there is a strong infin. *sceaðan*, and besides *scōð* a weak past *scēðede*. Diphthongisation after palatal *sc* is seen in *sceaðan*, *gesceapen*, *scēoð* (æ *scōð*), and *scēop* (æ *scōp*). In *scieppan*,

¹ If the student is puzzled by this note he will find full explanations in Part II.

this diphthongisation has been followed by mutation (see § 123). In *hliehhan*, the same vowel has resulted from mutation of broken *a*. The vowel in *ſeah*, as in *seah* (§ 80), is a breaking of original *a*. The *o* of *sworen* (<*swaren*), like that of *ſwogen* (§ 78), is due to the influence of the preceding *w*. The interchange of *bb* and *f* in *hebban* is explained by the fact that *bb* in OE. represents earlier *ff*. The doubled consonants (*cg=gg*) of the presents stand for earlier consonant +*j*, and thus = the *ri* (= *rj*) of *ſweſſian*, *r* being the only consonant that was not doubled after a short vowel through influence of following *j*.

CONTRACTED VERBS.

81. All strong verbs whose present stem originally ended in *h*, lose the *h* and contract before every termination beginning with a vowel. In fact *h* remains only before the *-st*, *-ð*, of the 2nd and 3rd sing. pres., and when final in the 2nd sing. imperative and 1st and 3rd sing. past; it has been replaced by *g* in the pret. plur. (and derived parts) and past part. in accordance with Verner's Law (see § 169).

The chief strong contracted verbs are :

I. ("Shine")	<i>lēon, lend</i>	¹ <i>ſēon, thrive</i> ⁽⁶⁾
	<i>tēon, accuse</i>	<i>wrēon, cover</i>
II. ("Creep")	<i>flēon, flee</i>	<i>tēon, draw</i>
IIIa. ("Help")	² <i>fēolan, penetrate</i>	
V. ("Tread")	<i>gefēon, rejoice</i>	<i>sēon, see</i>
	<i>plēon, adventure</i>	
VI. ("Fare")	<i>flēan, flay</i>	<i>slēan, slay</i>
	<i>lēan, blame</i>	<i>ſwēan, wash</i>
VII. (Reduplicating)	<i>fōn, seize</i>	<i>hōn, hang</i>

¹ The numbers in brackets refer to the following notes.

² Strictly speaking, *fēolan* is not a contracted verb (see § 154), but this is the most convenient place to give its conjugation.

Paradigms.

	I. tēon	II. tēon	III. fēolan
			PRESENT
<i>Sing.</i> 1.	tēo	tēo	fēole (§ 13)
2.	tīhst ⁽¹⁾	tīchst	fielhst
3.	tīhð	tīchð	fielhð
<i>Plur.</i>	tēoð	tēoð	fēolað
			PRESENT
<i>Sing.</i>	tēo	tēo	fēole
<i>Plur.</i>	tēon	tēon	fēolen
			PAST
<i>Sing.</i> 1.	tāh ⁽²⁾	tēah	fealh
2.	tige	tuge	[fāle] fulgo ⁽²⁾
3.	tāh	tēah	fealh
<i>Plur.</i>	tigon	tugon	[fālon] fulgon
			PAST
<i>Sing.</i>	tige	tuge	[fāle] fulge
<i>Plur.</i>	tigen	tugen	[fālen] fulgen
			Imperative.
<i>Sing.</i> 2.	tīh ⁽¹⁾	tēoh	feolh
<i>Plur.</i> 2.	tēoð	tēoñ	fēolað
			Infinitive (dat.).
	(tā) tēonne	tēonne	fēolanne
			Participles.
<i>Pres.</i>	tēonde	tēonde	fēolende
<i>Past.</i>	tigen	togen	

V. sēon

VI. slēan

VII. fē

Indicative.

sēo

slēa

fō

siehst

sliehst

fēhst

siehð

sliehð

fēhð

sēoð

slēað

Subjunctive.

sēo

slēa

fō

sēon

slēan

fōn

Indicative.

seah

slōg⁽⁴⁾feng⁽⁴⁾(sæge) sāwe⁽²⁾

slōge

fenge

seah

slōg

feng

(sægon) sāwon

slōgon

fengon

Subjunctive.

(sæge) sāwe

slōge

fenge

(sægen) sāwen

slōgen

fengen

Imperative.

seoh

sleah

fōh

sēoð

slēað

fōð

Infinitive (dat.).

sēonne

slēanne

fōnne

Participles.

sēonde

slēande

fōnde

(segen) sewen⁽²⁾(slagen) slægen⁽³⁾

fungen

NOTES. (1) The uncontracted vowel of the 2nd and 3rd sing. pres. is a mutation of the uncontracted vowel (broken in Classes III., V., VI.) which is preserved in the imperative sing. This will be better understood when the prehistoric forms of the infinitive are given :

- I. *tēon* < **tīhan*.
- II. *tēon* < **teuhan*.
- III. *fēolan* < **feolhan* (breaking) < **felhan*.
- V. *sēon* < **seh(w)an*⁽³⁾.
gefēon < **-fehan*⁽³⁾.
- VI. *slēan* < **slahan*.
- VII. *fōn* < **fōhan*.

(2) The past pl. *fulgon* (and derived parts) is rare, and pp. *folgen* is wanting. In their place have been formed a past plur. and pp. according to Class IV ("Bear").

(3) The past plur. and pp. *sūgon*, *segen*, are necessarily given in the paradigm, because they are the model for the other verbs of the class, but (like pp. *slagen*) they are not the usual forms. As is seen above, the root of *sēon* originally ended in *hw*, which in the past plur. and pp. > *gw* by Verner's Law; *gw* > *g* or *w* in OE., but > *w* in WS. prose. See § 169.

(4) The *g* of the past plur. has been extended to the sing. in Classes VI. and VII. Forms like *slōh* are later than *slōg*.

(5) Through the identity of the contracted forms of *tēon* (I.) and *tēon* (II.), the former passed over into Class II. and was followed by *wrēon*, so that we frequently meet with such forms as *tēah*, *tugon*, *wrēah*, *wrogen*, belonging to verbs of Class I.

(6) Connected with *ðēon*, thrive, are the past plur. *ðungon*, the pp. *ðungen*, and the adj. *geðungen*, distinguished, excellent, belonging to Class III., to which class *ðēon* (< **þīhan* < **pinhan*) itself originally belonged.

II. WEAK VERBS.

82. Weak verbs are divided into four classes :

Class I ("Wean-Ween"), in *-an* and *-ian*, with
mutated stem-vowel throughout.

Class II¹ ("Tell"), in *-an* (list in § 90), with
mutated stem-vowel in the present only.

Class III¹ ("Look"), in *-ian*, with the
stem-vowel not mutated.

Class IV¹ (Mixed), in *-an*; a few verbs conjugated partly like Class I. and partly like Class III. (see list given in § 93).

The principal parts are the infinitive, past singular, and past participle. It is unnecessary to give rules for forming the other parts from them, beyond this : *Follow the paradigms.* For the ways and means of distinguishing weak verbs from strong see § 64.

Weak verbs betray their weakness of character in a certain hesitancy as to the class they belong to and as to the length of their root-syllable, which leads them at times to transfer themselves from one paradigm and class to another. Once decide the paradigm that a weak verb follows and the rest is easy.

¹ Sievers does not make a separate class of "Tell" verbs. Hence Class III. (above)=Sievers' Class II., Class IV. (above)=Sievers' Class III.

Class I ("Wean-Ween").

83. Primary paradigms:

- (a) Original short stem: *węnnan*, accustom (wean).
 (b) Original long stem: *wēnan*, suppose (ween).

PRESENT *Indicative*.

<i>Sing.</i> 1.	węne	wēne
2.	węnest	wēn(e)st
3.	węneð	wēn(e)ð
		wēnað

PRESENT *Subjunctive*.

<i>Sing.</i>	węne	wēne
<i>Plur.</i>	węnnen	wēnen

PAST *Indicative*.

<i>Sing.</i> 1.	węnede	wēnde
2.	węnedest	wēndest
3.	węnede	wēnde
<i>Plur.</i>	węnedon	wēndon

PAST *Subjunctive*.

<i>Sing.</i>	węnede	wēnde
<i>Plur.</i>	węnedon	wēndon

Imperative.

<i>Sing.</i> 2.	węne	wēn
<i>Plur.</i> 2.	węnað	wēnað

Infinitive.

<i>Dat.</i>	(tō) wēnnanne	wēnanne
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Participles.

<i>Pres.</i>	wēnnende	wēnende
<i>Past.</i>	gewēned (<i>pl.</i> gewēnede)	gewēned (<i>pl.</i> gewēnde)

NOTES. (1) As regards terminations, *wennan* is the model of the original conjugation of this class, the differences being due solely to syncope and apocope of *e* after an originally long syllable.

(2) The double consonant of *wennan* is owing to the original *j*, before which every consonant except *r* was doubled after a short vowel, and to which the mutation of the root-vowel throughout this class is also due: such stems therefore were originally short. Gemination is found in all present forms except 2nd and 3rd sing. pres. and sing. imperative; it is absent in all past forms.

(3) Like *wēnan* are conjugated original long stems and all polysyllabic stems; like *wennan*, original short stems. The latter part of this rule, however, has important exceptions, as will be seen in the following sections.

(4) In words like

<i>āfierran</i> , withdraw	<i>mierran</i> , mar
<i>ceñnan</i> , bring forth	<i>pyffan</i> , puff
<i>cierran</i> , turn	<i>stillan</i> , still
<i>elyppan</i> , embrace	<i>ðryccan</i> , oppress
<i>cyssan</i> , kiss	<i>wemman</i> , defile
<i>fyllan</i> , fill	<i>yppan</i> , reveal

the double consonant is original (not a gemination before *j*), and therefore they are original long stems¹ and are conjugated like *wēnan*.

(5) *Ciegan*, call, in which the *g*=original *j*, is also conjugated like *wēnan*: past *ciegde*, pp. *gecieged*.

(6) An occasional imperative sing. in *-e* is met with in long stems: *lāwe*=*lāw*, *sende*=*send*.

¹ It must always be borne in mind that a syllable ending in two consonants is long.

84. Secondary paradigms: *nərian*, *save*; *gierwan*, *pare*; *swəbban*, *put to sleep*; *səttan*, *set*; *ləcgan*, *lay*.

PRESENT *Indicative.*

<i>Sing.</i> 1.	<i>nərie</i>	<i>gierwe</i>	<i>swəbbe</i>	<i>sətte</i>	<i>ləcge</i>
2.	<i>nərest</i>	<i>gierest</i>	<i>swəfest</i>	<i>sət(e)st</i>	
3.		<i>giereð</i>			
<i>Plur.</i>	<i>nəriað</i>	<i>gierwað</i>	<i>swəbbað</i>		

PRESENT *Subjunctive.*

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>nərie</i>	<i>gierwe</i>	<i>swəbbe</i>	<i>sətte</i>	<i>ləcge</i>
<i>Plur.</i>	<i>nərien</i>	<i>gierwen</i>	<i>swəbben</i>	<i>səttən</i>	<i>ləcgen</i>

PAST *Indicative.*

<i>Sing.</i> 1.	<i>nərede</i>	<i>gierede</i>	<i>swəfede</i>	<i>sətte</i>	
2.	<i>nəredəst</i>	<i>gieredest</i>	<i>swəfedest</i>	<i>səttəst</i>	<i>ləgdest</i>
3.	<i>nərede</i>	<i>gierede</i>	<i>swəfede</i>	<i>sətte</i>	<i>ləgde</i>
<i>Plur.</i>	<i>nəredon</i>	<i>gieredon</i>	<i>swəfedon</i>	<i>səttən</i>	<i>ləgdon</i>

PAST *Subjunctive.*

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>nərede</i>	<i>gierede</i>	<i>swəfede</i>		<i>ləgde</i>
<i>Plur.</i>	<i>nəreden</i>	<i>giereden</i>	<i>swəfeden</i>	<i>səttən</i>	<i>ləgden</i>

Imperative.

<i>Sing.</i> 2.	<i>nəre</i>	<i>giere</i>	<i>swəfe</i>	<i>səte</i>	<i>lege</i>
<i>Plur.</i> 2.	<i>nəriað</i>	<i>gierwað</i>	<i>swəbbað</i>		

Infinitive.

<i>Dat.</i> (tō)	<i>nərianne</i>	<i>gierwanne</i>	<i>swəbbanne</i>	<i>səttanne</i>	<i>ləcganne</i>
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Participles.

<i>Pres.</i>	<i>nəriende</i>	<i>gierwende</i>	<i>swəbbende</i>	<i>səttende</i>	<i>ləcgende</i>
<i>Past.</i>	<i>genəred</i>	<i>gegier(w)ed</i>	<i>geswəfed</i>	<i>gesət(t)</i>	<i>geleget, -léd</i>
<i>pl.</i>	<i>genərede</i>	<i>gegierede</i>	<i>geswəfede</i>	<i>gesətte</i>	<i>gelegete</i>

NOTE. All these verbs, except *gierwan* (which is conjugated like a short stem), were originally short stems. *Settan* and *lēcgan* have conformed to the conjugation of *wēnan* in the syncope of medial *e*. The conjugation of *nerian*, *gierwan* and *swēbban* differs from that of *wennan* only in this: that wherever *wennan* simplifies *nn* to *n*, *swēbban* simplifies *bb* to *f*, *nerian* drops *i*, and *gierwan* drops *w*.

85. *Nerian*.—*R* alone has not doubled before *j* after a short vowel. Like *nerian* (§ 84) then are conjugated

<i>derian</i> , <i>injure</i>	<i>gebyrian</i> , <i>pertain</i>
<i>erian</i> , <i>plough (ear)</i>	<i>spyrian</i> , <i>inquire</i>
<i>ferian</i> , <i>carry</i>	<i>styrian</i> , <i>stir</i>
<i>herian</i> , <i>praise</i>	
<i>werian</i> , <i>defend</i>	

Moreover, verbs with root-final *l*, *m*, *n*, *s*, *ð*, have passed over from *wennan* to *nerian* even in EWS., so that we may also conjugate like the latter

<i>behelian</i> , <i>conceal</i>	<i>trymian</i> (+ <i>trymman</i>), <i>confirm</i>
<i>grēmian</i> (+ <i>grēmman</i>), <i>provoke</i>	<i>ðenian</i> (+ <i>ðennan</i>), <i>stretch</i>
<i>lēmian</i> , <i>oppress</i>	<i>hrisian</i> (+ <i>hriissan</i>), <i>shake</i>
<i>tēmian</i> , <i>tame</i>	<i>wrēðian</i> , <i>support</i>

This reduces the verbs conjugated exactly like *wennan* to a very few, such as

<i>cnyssan</i> , <i>knock</i>	<i>frēmman</i> , <i>perform</i>
<i>dynnan</i> , <i>resound</i>	<i>hlynnan</i> , <i>resound</i>

in addition to *grēmman*, etc., already given.

Later, all the verbs mentioned in this §, tend to pass over into Class III ("Look"), so that we find *frēmian*, *wenian*; past *frēmode*, *trymode*, and so on.

NOTE. Besides *nerian* we find *nergan*, *nerigan*, *ngrigea*, *ngrige*, etc., but these probably show mere graphic variants of *i* (=j) before *a* and *e*.

86. *Gierwan*, *sweġban*, *seġtan*, *leġgan* (§ 84).(i) *Gierwan*. Like this verb^{are} are conjugated*sierwan*, *deceive* *smierwan*, *anoint* *wielwan*, *roll*NOTE. (1) In LVS., besides passing over to Class III ("Look"), *sierian*, etc., these verbs were sometimes conjugated with *w* throughout and sometimes without *w* throughout, no two verbs being alike.(ii) *Sweġban*. For *bb* < *f* + *j* cp. *heġban*, § 80. Later, this verb also passed over into Class III ("Look"), *sweġfian*, *sweġfode*, etc.(iii) *Seġtan*. Like *seġtan* are conjugated all weak verbs ending in *-ttan*, e.g.:*hwettan*, *whet**qndettan*, *confess**leġtan*, *hinder**ōnettān*, *hasten**licettan*, *simulate**sārettan*, *grieve*NOTES. (2) Verbs in *-ddan*, like *hreġddan*, rescue, syncopate like *seġtan* in their past forms: *hreġdde*, *gehreġdd*.(3) The polysyllables retain the *tt* in the sing. imperative: *ōnette*.(iv) *Leġgan*. Like *leġgan* is conjugated *węccan*, agitate, as regards the simplification of *cg* to *g*; but past *węgede*, etc.

87. 2nd and 3rd Sing. Present: Rules for Classes I. and II.

(1) Syncope of *e* is usual in original long stems; in original short stems only after *c*, *s* and *t*, and occasionally after *l* and *g*. Exs.: *wēnest* + *wēnst*, *wēneð* + *wēnð*, *dāleð* + *dālð*; *cnyse*(*e*)ð from *cnyssan*, *seġt* from *seġtan*, *reġð* from *reġcan*, *węð* from *węccan*;(2) Consonant-change in consequence of syncope takes place according to the rules laid down in § 69, whenever the conditions there specified are present. Exs.: (*hwęteð* >) *hwętt* from *hwęttan*; *fylleð* > *fylð* from *fyllan*; *cijðeð* > *cijð*(ð) from *cijðan*; *lædest* > *lætst*, *lædeð* > *lætt*(*t*) from *lædan*; *hijdeð* > *hiji*(*t*) from *hijlan*; *forieldeð* > *forielt* from *foriieldan*; *wędeð* > *wętt* from *węndan*, and so on.

88. **Past Tense.**—Verbs that form their past tense by adding *-de* immediately to the root-syllable (including therefore all original long stems; see § 83) are subject to the following rules:

(1) Double root-finals are simplified: *āfierran*, *āfierde*; *cennan*, *cende*; *fyllan*, *fylde*.

(2) After a voiceless root-final, *c*, *p*(*p*), *t*, *x*, *ff*, *ss*, *-de* > *-te*:

	<i>Past</i>		<i>Past</i>
<i>drēncan</i> , give to drink	<i>drēncete</i>	<i>slāpan</i> , sleep	<i>slāpte</i>
<i>dyppan</i> , dip	<i>dypte</i>	<i>mētan</i> , find	<i>mētte</i>
<i>lēxan</i> , shine	<i>lēxte</i>	<i>pyffan</i> , puff	<i>pyfte</i>
<i>cýssan</i> , kiss	<i>cýste</i>		

(3) After a consonant *-dde* > *-de* and *-tte* > *-te*:

<i>ǵndwyrðan</i> , answer	<i>ǵndwyrde</i>	<i>āwēstan</i> , lay waste	<i>āwēste</i>
<i>sǵndan</i> , send	<i>sǵnde</i>	<i>fāestan</i> , fasten	<i>fāeste</i>

(4) *ðd* > *dd* in later texts: *cýðan* (make known), *cýðde* and *cýdde*.

(5) Verbs in consonant + *l*, *n*, *r*, should have syllabic *l*, *n*, *r*, in the past, but more frequently they take the ending *-ede* or *-ode*:

<i>seǵlan</i> , sail	<i>seǵlde</i>	<i>bytlan</i> , build	<i>bytlede</i>
<i>ǵfnan</i> , perform	<i>ǵfnde</i> + <i>ǵfnede</i>		
<i>timbran</i> , build	<i>timbrede</i> , <i>timbrode</i>		

Nemnan (name) loses *n*: *nemde* (+ *nemnode*).

NOTE. Later, these verbs formed presents also according to Class III ("Look"): *timbrian*, etc.

(6) Apparently in imitation of verbs in Class II., verbs in *c* sometimes take *ht* for *ct* in the past tense and past part.:

	<i>Past</i>	<i>PP.</i>
<i>ōlǵcc(e)an</i> , flatter	<i>ōlǵcte</i> + <i>ōlǵhte</i>	
<i>nēalāc(e)an</i> , approach	<i>nēalācte</i> + <i>lāhte</i>	
<i>īec(e)an</i> , increase	<i>īecte</i> + <i>īehte</i>	<i>geīeced</i> + <i>geīeht</i>
<i>ðrycc(e)an</i> , oppress	<i>ðrycte</i> + <i>ðryhte</i>	<i>geðrycced</i>

89. Past Participle.

(i) *Uninflected*. The uninflected pp. usually ends in *-ed*; but (a) after a vowel *-ded* as a rule $> d(d)$, and *-ted* $> t(t)$, while (b) after consonant-+ *d* or *t*; the ending *-ed* was often dropped. Thus we find

(a)	<i>tālan, blame</i>	<i>pp. getæled (+ getield)</i>
	<i>nāetan, annoy</i>	<i>genæt(t)</i>
	<i>tōbrædan, scatter</i>	<i>tōbræd(d)</i>
	<i>lædan, lead</i>	
	<i>geēaðmēdan, humble</i>	<i>geēaðmēd(e)(d)¹</i>
	<i>underðiedan, subdue</i>	<i>underðied(e)(d)¹</i>
(b)	<i>begyrdan, surround</i>	<i>begyrd(e)(d)¹</i>
	<i>sciieldan, shield</i>	<i>gesciield(ed)</i>
	<i>sēndan, send</i>	<i>gesēnd(ed)</i>
	<i>oñdwyrðan, answer</i>	<i>geoñdwyrð</i>
	<i>befæstan, secure</i>	
	<i>ātyhtan, entice</i>	<i>ātyht</i>

(ii) *Inflected*. In original short stems there is syncope of *e* only after *d*, *t*. In original long stems, syncope of *e* is usual before a termination beginning with a vowel; but unsyncopated forms are also common, except after *d*, *t*. After a voiceless consonant *d* $> t$ as in the past tense. Exs. :

		<i>Uninflected</i>	<i>Inflected (pl.)</i>
Short	<i>cnyssan, knock</i>	<i>gecnysed</i>	<i>gecnysede</i>
	<i>sēttan, set</i>	<i>geset(t)</i>	<i>gesette</i>
Long	<i>fyllan, fill</i>	<i>gefylled</i>	<i>gefylde</i>
	<i>cýðan, make known</i>	<i>gecýðed</i>	<i>gecýðde (later gecýdde)</i>
	<i>neḡmnan, name</i>	<i>geḡeḡmned</i>	
	<i>besēncan, immerse</i>	<i>besēnced</i>	<i>besēncete</i>
	<i>āwiergan, curse</i>	<i>āwierged</i>	<i>āwierg(e)de</i>
	<i>lædan, lead</i>	<i>gelæd(e)(d)</i>	<i>gelædde</i>

Of course pps. that syncopate in the uninflected form (nom. sing.) remain syncopated in inflection.

¹ That is, the three extant forms are *geēaðmēded*, *geēaðmēdd*, *geēaðmēd*.

Class II ("Tell").

90. A small class of about twenty verbs, with roots ending in *c*, *g*, *l*, originally joined the endings of the past tense and past participle immediately to the root-syllable, i.e. without an intervening *i*. In consequence, whereas the vowel of the present is mutated, the past forms usually retain the original vowel. Roots ending in *c* or *g* had (from the Germanic period) *ht* in the past tense and past participle. Below are the principal parts of the chief of these verbs, divided into (a) original short stems, (b) original long stems.

<i>Inf.</i>	<i>Past</i>	<i>PP.</i>
(a) <i>cweġlan</i> , <i>kill</i>	<i>cwealde</i> (§ 137)	<i>gecweald</i>
<i>seġlan</i> , <i>give</i>	<i>sealde</i>	<i>geseald</i>
<i>steġlan</i> , <i>place</i>	<i>stealde</i>	<i>gesteald</i>
<i>tġellan</i> , <i>tell</i>	<i>tealde</i>	<i>geteald</i>
<i>cweġcc(e)an</i> , <i>shake</i>	<i>cweahte</i> (§ 137)	<i>gecweaht</i>
<i>dreġcc(e)an</i> , <i>ver</i>	<i>dreahte</i>	<i>gedreaht</i>
<i>lēcc(e)an</i> , <i>moisten</i>	<i>leahte</i>	<i>geleaht</i>
<i>reġcc(e)an</i> , <i>explain</i>	<i>reahte</i>	<i>gereahht</i>
<i>streġcc(e)an</i> , <i>stretch</i>	<i>streahte</i>	<i>gestreaht</i>
<i>ðeġcc(e)an</i> , <i>cover</i>	<i>ðeahte</i>	<i>geðeaht</i>
<i>węcc(e)an</i> , <i>wake</i>	<i>weahte</i>	<i>geweaht</i>
<i>bycg(e)an</i> , <i>buy</i>	<i>bohte</i> (§ 129)	<i>geboht</i>
(b) <i>bepæc(e)an</i> , <i>deceive</i>	<i>bepæhte</i>	<i>bepæht</i>
<i>ræc(e)an</i> , <i>reach</i>	<i>ræhte</i>	<i>geræht</i>
<i>tæc(e)an</i> , <i>teach</i>	<i>tæhte</i>	<i>getæht</i>
[<i>rēc(e)an</i> >] <i>recc(e)an</i> , <i>reck</i>	<i>rōhte</i>	
<i>sēc(e)an</i> , <i>seek</i>	<i>sōhte</i>	<i>gesōht</i>
<i>wyrc(e)an</i> , <i>work</i>	<i>worhte</i> (§ 129)	<i>geworht</i>
<i>ðenc(e)an</i> , <i>think</i>	<i>ðōhte</i> (§ 152)	
<i>ðync(e)an</i> , <i>seem</i>	<i>ðūhte</i>	<i>geðūht</i>
<i>bręng(e)an</i> , <i>bring</i>	<i>brōhte</i> (§ 152)	<i>gebrōht</i>

NOTES. (1) For the intrusive *e*, so often found wherever *c* or *g* was originally followed by *j*, see § 34, N. 6.

(2) Verbs in *-gac* frequently borrow the *e* of the pres. in the past tense and pp., even in EWS.: *lēhte*, *rēhte*, *gerēht*, etc.

(3) The usual past forms of *bepēcan*, *rēcan*, *tēcan*, have borrowed the vowel of the present, but *rāhte*, *tāhte* and *-tāht* occur in EWS.

(4) For *brēngan*, the strong *bringan* (rare pp. *brungen*) of Class IIIB ("Drink"), is more often found.

(5) Occasional pps. according to Class I. are met with, such as *onstēled*, *getēled*.

(6) It is exceedingly good practice for the student to explain, by the aid of Part II., the relations between the vowels of the present and those of the past forms of these verbs. It is therefore not done for him here, but the following notes may help him in some of the chief difficulties:

cwēllan etc.—there is no breaking in OE. before *ll* < *l+j* (§ 137).

ðēncan—*ðōhte* < **ðāhte* < Germanic *þanhata*; so *brōhte*.

ðyncan—*ðūhte* < Germanic *þunhta*, with lengthening (as above) in compensation for the loss of the nasal.

Paradigms: (a) Original short stems, *tēllan*.

(b) Original long stems, *sēcan*.

PRESENT *Indicative*.

<i>Sing.</i> 1.	tēlle	sēce
2.	tēl(e)st	sēc(e)st
3.	tēl(e)ð	sēc(e)ð
<i>Plur.</i>	tēllað	sēcað

PRESENT *Subjunctive*.

<i>Sing.</i>	telle	sēce
<i>Plur.</i>	tellen	sēcen

PAST *Indicative.*

<i>Sing.</i> 1.	tealde	sōhte
2.	tealdest	sōhtest
3.	tealde	sōhte
<i>Plur.</i>	tealdon	sōhton

PAST *Subjunctive.*

<i>Sing.</i>	tealde	sōhte
<i>Plur.</i>	tealden	sōhten

Imperative.

<i>Sing.</i> 2.	tēle	sēc
<i>Plur.</i> 2.	tēllað	sēcað

Infinitive.

<i>Dat.</i>	(tō) tēllanne	sēcanne
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Participles.

<i>Pres.</i>	tēllende	sēcende
<i>Past.</i>	geteald	gesōht

NOTES. (7) It is obvious that the only important difference between the above paradigms and those of § 83 is in the change of vowel in the past forms of *tēllan* and *sēcān*.

(8) Like *tēllan* are conjugated all the original short stems, i.e. stems with a short vowel followed by a doubled consonant (<consonant + *j*); like *sēcān*, all the original long stems, i.e. those with a long vowel, and those with a short vowel followed by two (different) consonants.

Class III ("Look").

91. The verbs of this class are very numerous ; so are those of Class I. ; together they outnumber all the other classes, strong and weak. "Look"-verbs all have infinitive in *-ian* (except the few contracted verbs in *-gan = -jan*) : the root-vowel is mutated only in the case of a few late formations, from nouns and adjs. with mutated vowels, such as *endian*, to end, from *ende*, and *grēnian*, to become green, from *grēne*.

Paradigm : *lōcian*, look.

	Present	Past
	<i>Indicative.</i>	
<i>Sing.</i> 1. .	<i>lōcie</i>	<i>lōcode</i>
2.	<i>lōcast</i>	<i>lōcodest</i>
3.	<i>lōcað</i>	<i>lōcode</i>
<i>Plur.</i>	<i>lōciað</i>	<i>lōcodon (-edon)</i>
	<i>Subjunctive.</i>	
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>lōcie</i>	<i>lōcode</i>
<i>Plur.</i>	<i>lōcien</i>	<i>lōcoden</i>
	<i>Imperative.</i>	
	<i>lōca, lōciað</i>	
	<i>Infinitive.</i>	
	<i>lōcian, dat. -anne</i>	
	<i>Participles.</i>	
	<i>lōciende</i>	<i>gelōcod</i>

NOTES. (1) Note that the *-að*, which in every other class marks the pres. plural, here marks the 3rd sing. pres., while the plural has *-iað*.

(2) The present stems of this class originally ended in *-ōjo*, which did not cause mutation of the root-vowel; hence the rarity of mutated root-vowels in these verbs. The original *j* is preserved not only in the contracted verbs, but in the common variants *ige* for *ie* and *iga, igea* for *ia* : *lōcige*, *lōcigen*, *lōcigende*, *lōcig(e)að*, *lōcig(e)an*.

(3) For *-ode*, *-oð*, we find less frequently *-ade*, *-ude*, *-að*, *-ud*, rarely *-ede*, *-eð*.

92. Contracted Verbs.

Paradigms : *frēog(e)an*, lovè ; *smēag(e)an*, consider.

PRESENT *Indicative.*

<i>Sing.</i> 1.	frēoge	smēage
2.	frēost	smēast
3.	frēoð	smēað
<i>Plur.</i>	frēog(e)að	smēag(e)að

PRESENT *Subjunctive.*

<i>Sing.</i>	frēoge	smēage
<i>Plur.</i>	frēogen	smēagen

PAST *Indicative.*

<i>Sing.</i> 1.	frēode	smēade
2.	frēodest	smēadest
3.	frēode	smēade
<i>Plur.</i>	frēodon	smēadon

PAST *Subjunctive.*

<i>Sing.</i>	frēode	smēade
<i>Plur.</i>	frēoden	smēaden

Imperative.

<i>Sing.</i> 2.	frēo	smēa
<i>Plur.</i> 2.	frēog(e)að	smēag(e)að

Infinitive.

frēog(e)an	smēag(e)an, smēan
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Participles.

<i>Pres.</i>	frēogende	smēagende
<i>Past.</i>	gefrēod	gesmēad

The following verbs are conjugated

like *frēogan*

fēogan, *hate*

tēogan, *ordain*

twēogan, *doubt*

like *smēagan*

ðrēagan, *rebuke*

Scōg(e)an, shoe, has past *scōde*, pp. *gescōd*.

Class IV: Mixed Verbs.

93. Here belong a few verbs which are conjugated partly like Class I. and partly like Class III. *Fylg(e)an*, *folgian*, follow, is completely conjugated according to both classes: past *fylgde*, *folgode*, etc. The four verbs *habban*, have, *libban*, live, *secg(e)an*, say, and *hycg(e)an*, think, are given in full below, with the parts that belong to each class in separate columns.

	Class I.	Class III.	Class I.	Class
		PRESENT <i>Indicative</i> .		
<i>Sing.</i> 1.	hæbbe		libbe	
2.	hæfst	hafast		liofast
3.	hæfð	hafað		liofað
<i>Plur.</i>	{habbað hæbbað		libbað	
		PRESENT <i>Subjunctive</i>		
<i>Sing.</i>	hæbbe		libbe	
<i>Plur.</i>	hæbben		libben	
		PAST <i>Indicative</i> .		
<i>Sing.</i> 1.	hæfde		lifde	
2.	hæfdest		lifdest	
3.	hæfde		lifde	
<i>Plur.</i>	hæfdon		lifdon	
		PAST <i>Subjunctive</i> .		
<i>Sing.</i>	hæfde		lifde	
<i>Plur.</i>	hæfden		lifden	
		<i>Imperative</i> .		
<i>Sing.</i> 2.		hafa		liofa
<i>Plur.</i> 2.	{habbað hæbbað		libbað	
		<i>Infinitive</i>		
	habban		libban	
		<i>Participles</i>		
<i>Pres.</i>	hæbbende		libbende	lifende
<i>Past.</i>	gehæfd		gelifd	

	Class I.	Class III.	Class I.	Class III.
<i>PRESENT Indicative.</i>				
<i>Sing.</i> 1.	secge		hycge	
2.	sægst, segst	sagast	hyg(e)st	hogast
3.	sægð, segð	sagað	hyg(e)ð	hogað
<i>Plur.</i>	secg(e)að		hycg(e)að	
<i>PRESENT Subjunctive.</i>				
<i>Sing.</i>	secge		hycge	
<i>Plur.</i>	secgen		hycgen	
<i>PAST Indicative.</i>				
<i>Sing.</i> 1.	sægde, sæde	(§ 98. 2)	hogde	hogode
2.	sægdest, sædest		hogdest	hogodest
3.	sægde, sæde		hogde	hogode
<i>Plur.</i>	sægdon, sædon		hogdon	hogedon
<i>PAST Subjunctive.</i>				
<i>Sing.</i>	sægde, sæde		hogde	hogode
<i>Plur.</i>	sægden, sæden		hogden	hogoden
<i>Imperative.</i>				
<i>Sing.</i> 2.	sege	saga		hoga
<i>Plur.</i> 2.	secg(e)að		hycg(e)að	
<i>Infinitive.</i>				
	secg(e)an		hycg(e)an	
<i>Participles.</i>				
<i>Pres.</i>	secgende		hycgende	
<i>Past.</i>	gesægd, gesæd			gehogod

NOTES. (1) To Class III. belong originally only the 2nd and 3rd sing. pres. indic. and the 2nd sing. imperative, to Class I. all the other *present* forms. The past was formed by adding *-de*, the past part. by adding *-d*, immediately to the root-syllable, and therefore not strictly on the analogy of any class; but the original past forms are given under Class I., because they closely resemble those of that class.

(2) A negative form of *habban* is formed by prefixing *ne*: *nabban*, *næfde*, *genæfd*; which is conjugated throughout like *habban*.

(3) Present forms of *libban* with *fi*, *fg*, for *bb*, *lifian*, *lifgan*, etc., are not uncommon, but are properly dialectal. *Eo* regularly replaces *io* in later forms, *leofað*, etc., and then we have past forms *leofode*, *geleofod*.

(4) *Īewan*, show, Class I., has also an infin. *ēowian*, Class III., and an odd combination of the two *ēowan*. The following forms occur in EWS.:

<i>Infin.</i>	<i>iewan</i>	<i>ēowian</i>	<i>ēowan</i>
<i>pres.</i>		<i>ēowað</i>	<i>ēoweð</i>
<i>Subj. pres.</i>	<i>iewe</i>	<i>ēowi(g)e</i>	
<i>Past.</i>	<i>iewde</i>	(LWS. <i>ēowode</i>)	<i>ēowde</i>
<i>Past part.</i>	<i>geiewed (pl. geiewde)</i>	<i>geēowod</i>	

94. How to tell the Class of a Weak Verb.

We are now in a position to tell the class of any weak verb without difficulty (apart from the uncertainty due to verbs of Class I. passing over to Class III., see §§ 85, 86, 88).

(a) The verbs of Class II. ("Tell") and Class IV. (Mixed) are all mentioned in §§ 90, 93; the only uncertainty therefore is between Classes I. and III.

(b) Verbs in *-an* belong to Class I.;

„ „ *-ian* „ „ „ III., except those named in § 85 (all short stems).

(c) Verbs with mutated root-vowel belong to Class I.;

„ „ unmutated „ „ „ III.;

but a few long stems in *-ian* belonging to Class III., such as *endian*, have a mutated vowel as explained in § 91.

III. PAST-PRESENT VERBS.

95. There are twelve verbs in OE. whose presents are old strong past tenses, from which new weak past tenses have been formed. Hence they are often called "Preteritive-Present" and also "Strong-Weak" verbs. Their past tenses are conjugated like those of regular weak verbs. Their presents retain two traces of the older conjugation of strong past tenses, in the 2nd

sing. in *-t* without change of vowel, and in the mutated vowel of the subjunctive (although, through leveling, unmutated vowels occur more frequently). Other present parts, infinitive, imperative, etc., were formed from the past-present plural, but in most of these verbs some parts are missing. Above each verb is stated the *gradation class* to which its past-present belongs, but in some instances there have been changes from the original stem-vowels. Infinitives in square brackets are not found.

I ("Shine").

II ("Creep").

III ("Drink").

PRESENT *Indicative.*

<i>Sing.</i> 1.	wāt, <i>know</i>	āg (āh), <i>possess</i>	dēag (dēah), <i>avail</i>	ḡn(n), <i>grant</i>
2.	wāst	āhst		
3.	wāt	āg (āh)	dēag (dēah)	ḡn(n)
<i>Plur.</i>	witon	āgon	dugon	unnon

PRESENT *Subjunctive.*

<i>Sing.</i>	wite	āge	dyge, duge	unne
<i>Plur.</i>	witen	āgen	dygen, dugen	unnen

PAST *Indicative.*

<i>Sing.</i> 1.	wiste	āhte	dohte	ūðe
2.	wistest	āhtest	dohtest	ūðest
3.	wiste	āhte	dohte	ūðe
<i>Plur.</i>	wiston	āhton	dohton	ūðon

PAST *Subjunctive.*

<i>Sing.</i>	wiste	āhte	dohte	
<i>Plur.</i>	wisten	āhten	dohten	

Imperative.

<i>Sing.</i> 2.	wite	āge		(ge)unne
<i>Plur.</i> 2.	witað	āgað		unnað

Infinitive.

āgan	dugan	unnan
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Participles.

<i>Pres.</i>	witende	āgende	dugende	unnende
<i>Past.</i>	(ge)witon	āgen (adj.), <i>own</i>		geunnen

III ("Drink").

III ("Help").

IV ("Bear").

PRESENT *Indicative.*

<i>Sing.</i> 1.	cqn(n), know (<i>how to</i>)	dear(r), dare	ðearf, need	(ge)mqn, remember
2.	cqnst	dearst	ðearft	(ge)mqnst
3.	cqn(n)	dearr	ðearf	(ge)mqn
<i>Plur.</i>	cunnon	durron	ðurfon	(ge)munon (-að)

PRESENT *Subjunctive.*

<i>Sing.</i>	cunne	dyrr, durre	ðyrfe, ðurfe	(ge)myne, (ge)mune
	cunnen	dyrrn, durren	ðyrfen, ðurfen	(ge)mynen, (ge)munen

PAST *Indicative.*

<i>Sing.</i> 1.	cūðe	dorste	ðorfte	(ge)munde
2.	cūðest	dorstest	ðorfteft	(ge)mundest
3.	cūðe	dorste	ðorfte	(ge)munde
	cūðon	dorston	ðorfton	(ge)mundon

PAST *Subjunctive.*

<i>Sing.</i>	cūðe	dorste	ðorfte	(ge)munde
<i>Plur.</i>	cūðen	dorsten	ðorfteft	(ge)munden

Imperative.

1. 2.			(ge)mun(e)
1. 2.			(ge)munað

Infinitive.

cunnan	[durran]	ðurfan	(ge)munan
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Participles.

<i>Pres.</i>		ðearfende	(ge)munende
<i>Past.</i>	{(ge)cunnen cūð (adj.), known		(ge)munen

IV ("Bear").

V ("Tread").

VI ("Fare").

PRESENT *Indicative.*

<i>Sing.</i> 1. sceal, <i>must</i>	mæg, <i>can</i> •	•3rd pers. <i>only</i>	mōt, <i>may</i>
2. scealt	meaht, miht		mōst
3. sceal	mæg	be-, ge-neah, <i>suffices</i>	mōt
<i>Plur.</i> sculon, sceolon	magon	-nugon	mōton

PRESENT *Subjunctive.*

<i>Sing.</i> scyle, scule	mæge	-nuge	mōte
<i>Plur.</i> scylen, sculen	mægen	-nugen	mōten

PAST *Indicative.*

<i>Sing.</i> 1. sc(e)olde	meahte, mihte		mōste
2. sc(e)oldest	meahtest, mihtest		mōstest
3. sc(e)olde	meahte, mihte	-nohte	mōste
<i>Plur.</i> sc(e)oldon	meahton, mihton	-nohton	mōston

PAST *Subjunctive.*

<i>Sing.</i> sc(e)olde	meahte, mihte	-nohte	mōste
<i>Plur.</i> sc(e)olden	meahten, mihten	-nohten	mōsten

Imperative.

Sing. 2.
Plur. 2.

Infinitive.

sculan	[magan]	[-nugan]	[mōtan]
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Participles.

Pres.
Past.

NOTES. •(1) For *witan*, etc., we find in EWS. *wiotan*, *wietan*, etc. (by *o*-mutation). Another form of the past tense in EWS. is *wisse*. The negative form of *witan* is *nytan*, with *y* throughout.

(2) *Āgan* has a negative form *nāgan*, *nāh*, etc.

IV. ANOMALOUS VERBS.

96. Four anomalous verbs in OE. are of very frequent occurrence: (a) *bēon*, *wesan*, be; (b) *dōn*, do; (c) *gān*, go; (d) *willan*, will.

(a) *Bēon*, *wesan*, be.

	Present		Past
		<i>Indicative.</i>	
<i>Sing.</i> 1.	<i>eom</i>	<i>bēo</i>	<i>wæs</i>
2.	<i>eart</i>	<i>bist</i>	<i>wære</i>
3.	<i>is</i>	<i>bið</i>	<i>wæs</i>
<i>Plur.</i>	<i>sind</i> , <i>sint</i> , <i>si(e)ndon</i>	<i>bēoð</i>	<i>wæron</i>
		<i>Subjunctive.</i>	
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>sīe</i>	<i>bēo</i>	<i>wære</i>
<i>Plur.</i>	<i>sīen</i>	<i>bēon</i>	<i>wæren</i>
		<i>Imperative.</i>	
	<i>wes</i> , <i>wesað</i>	<i>bēo</i> , <i>bēoð</i>	
		<i>Infinitive.</i>	
	<i>wesan</i>	<i>bēon</i> , <i>dat. bēonne</i>	
		<i>Participles.</i>	
	<i>wesende</i>	<i>bēonde</i>	<i>wanting</i>

NOTES. (1) The forms of this verb beginning with a vowel and all the past tense are compounded with *ne*, not: *neom*, *nīs*, *næs*, *næron*, etc.

(2) The *-m* of *eom* is almost the sole reminder of the fact that all these anomalous verbs once belonged to the class of verbs in *-mi* (cp. Greek

(3) The above verb is from three distinct roots: the forms beginning with *b* from one, those with *w* from a second, and all the others from a third.

(b) Dōn, do.

	Present		Past
		<i>Indicative.</i>	
<i>Sing.</i> 1.	dō		dyde
2.	dēst		dydest
3.	dēš		dyde
<i>Plur.</i>	dōš		dydon
		<i>Subjunctive.</i>	
<i>Sing.</i>	dō		dyde
<i>Plur.</i>	dōn		dyden
		<i>Imperative.</i>	
	dō, dōš		
		<i>Infinitive.</i>	
	dōn, <i>dat.</i> dōnne		
		<i>Participles.</i>	
	dōnde		gedōn

(c) Gān, go.

		<i>Indicative.</i>	
<i>Sing.</i> 1.	gā		ēode
2.	gāest		ēodest
3.	gāš		ēode
<i>Plur.</i>	gāš		ēodon
		<i>Subjunctive.</i>	
<i>Sing.</i>	gā		ēode
<i>Plur.</i>	gān		ēoden
		<i>Imperative.</i>	
	gā, gāš		
		<i>Infinitive.</i>	
	gān, <i>dat.</i> gānne		
		<i>Participles.</i>	
	gānde		gegān

NOTE. (4) With this verb cp. the reduplicating verb *gongan* (§ 79), with which it is synonymous.

(d) Willan, will.

	Present		Past
		<i>Indicative.</i>	
<i>Sing.</i> 1.	wille, wile		wolde
2.	wilt		woldest
3.	wile, wille		wolde
<i>Plur.</i> 1.	willað		woldon
		<i>Subjunctive.</i>	
<i>Sing.</i>	wil(l)e		wolde
<i>Plur.</i>	willen		wolden
		<i>Imperative.</i>	
<i>Plur.</i> 2.	[nyllað, nellað]		
		<i>Infinitive.</i>	
	willan		
		<i>Participle.</i>	
	willende		

NOTE. (5) *Willan* unites with *ne* to form a negative verb, which has *y* or *e* for *i* throughout the present: *nyl(l)e*, *nel(l)e*, *nolde*, etc. In WS. no imperative is found but the negative plural.

PART II. PHONOLOGY.

97. In this Part the attempt is made to give such an account of the principal sound-changes that took place between the Germanic period and the end of the Old English period, as will suffice for the intelligent comprehension of the Accidence in Part I. While no difficulty has been shirked, it goes without saying that many difficulties are excluded from the scope of an elementary text-book. The limits and order of exposition adopted it will be convenient to state succinctly here. Attention is given almost exclusively to the vowels of stressed syllables; the vowels of unstressed syllables are included only so far as they are essential to the understanding of the changes in stressed vowels; a few paragraphs are devoted to the most important changes in consonants. No more is said about changes that took place between Indo-Germanic and Germanic (see the table, § 1), or during the Germanic period, than is necessary for the explanation of subsequent changes. A few developments manifested after the Early West Saxon period are mentioned for the sake of completeness, but in each case it is clearly indicated that they are late.

The order of exposition is this: (a) Starting with the Germanic system of stressed vowels, we find the normal equivalent of each vowel-sound in OE., which gives us the series of OE. primary vowels (§§ 100—112). These are then included in a comparative table with those of other Germanic languages

(§ 113). (b) The sound-changes, which produced the secondary or derivative vowels, are next dealt with separately, and examples given under each head (§§ 114—62). (c) The upward history of each OE. stressed vowel and diphthong, both primary and secondary, is given in tabular form (§ 163). (d) The principal phenomena seen in the development of the OE. consonants are briefly set forth (§§ 164—9).

STRESSED VOWELS.

A DOWNWARD HISTORY.—OE. Primary Vowels.

98. At the close of the Germanic period, i.e. before the death of the parent language in giving birth to dialects which became the Germanic languages, the system of stressed vowels was as follows:

¹a, e, i⁽¹⁾, o⁽²⁾, u; ā⁽³⁾, æ, ē, ī⁽⁴⁾, ō, ū⁽⁴⁾; ai, au, eu (iu⁽⁵⁾).

NOTES. (1) This *i* includes, not only original *i*, but the *i* that arose from *e* in the Germanic period, (a) before nasal + consonant, whence the difference of vowel in OE. *drincan* and *helpan* belonging to the same class of strong verbs; (b) before *i* or *j* in the same or the next syllable, whence the difference of vowel in OE. *biddan* (< *bedjan*) and the past part. *gebeden*.

(2) Germanic had lost original *o*, as may be seen by a comparison of Lat. *hortus* with Gothic *gards*, Eng. *yard*. Every Germanic *o* in stressed syllables, then, had arisen during the Germanic period in accordance with the following important law: earlier Germanic *u* > *o* under the influence of original *o* or *a* in the next syllable; but if (a) nasal + consonant or (b) *i* or *j* intervened, *u* was protected from change. This law has the most marked and important bearings on OE. phonology. Thus, on (a) depends the difference between such OE. past parts. as *gedruncen* (Class 3b) and all strong past parts. with root-vowel *o* (Classes 2, 3a, 4). For the vowel of the ending *-en* was *a* in Germanic, and this, according to the law, caused the change *u* > *o* in all strong past parts. where *u* was not protected by nasal + consonant. Again, on a knowledge of (b) depends the understanding of OE. *i*-mutation. For whereas in OE. *gold*, being an *o*-stem, the original *u* of the root > *o* in Germanic under the influence of the following *o*; in the derivative adjective

¹ The numbers in brackets refer to the notes.

gylden, the original *i* of the ending *-en* (<*in*) protected the *u* of the root from change until the period of the OE. *i*-mutation.

(3) Similarly, Germanic had lost original \bar{a} , as may be seen by comparing Lat. *frūter* with OE. *brōðor*. Every Germanic \bar{a} in stressed syllables had arisen in the Germanic period from $a + nh$ which $> \bar{a} + h$, with compensatory lengthening for the loss of the nasal. Thus Germanic \bar{a} is found only before *h*.

(4) In the same way Germanic

and ,, $u + nh > \bar{u} + h$;

but, unlike \bar{a} , these are not the only \bar{i} and \bar{u} in Germanic.

(5) Germanic *iu* < *eu*, just as *i* < *e*, before *i* or *j*. Hence no Germanic *e* or *eu*, but *i* and *iu*, came down to prehistoric OE. in words in which there was originally a following *i* or *j*.

99. The West Germanic (see § 1) system of stressed vowels differed in only one particular from that of Germanic:

Germanic $\bar{a} >$ West Germanic \bar{a} ,

but

,, $\bar{a} >$,, ,, \bar{a} .

Apart from this last vowel, it is immaterial whether we make Germanic or West Germanic the point from or to which we trace the OE. vowels. In dealing with this particular vowel due care must be taken. With this caution we proceed to trace seriatim the normal developments of the Germanic vowels as given in § 98. It must be borne in mind that *all changes in stressed vowels that come under the special phenomena dealt with in § 114 foll. are excluded from §§ 100—13.*

100. (West) Germanic $a >$ (i) OE. *a*, (ii) OE. *æ*.

(i) OE. *a* is found, i.e. Germanic *a* remains, in open syllables (i.e. before a single consonant) followed by a guttural vowel (*a*, *o*, *u*) or by an *e* or *i* weakened from *o* or *u*: *faran*, to go, and the other verbs of the 6th strong class; *gafol*, tax; *laðung*, invitation; *laðian* (*i* < *ō*), invite.

NOTES. (1) OE. *a* is rarely found in closed syllables: *habban*; *nabban*; *appla*, plur. of *æppel*, apple; *assa*, ass; *usce*, ashes; and a few less common words.

(2) OE. *a* is always found in the imperative sing. of strong verbs of Class 6: *far* from *faran*.

(ii) In most other instances—apart from the special influences and sound-changes which are dealt with in § 114 foll.—*a* > *æ*. This must be regarded as the normal development, just as that of *ā* is to *æ*. It is the rule in closed syllables, and before an *e* which is not weakened from *o* or *u*: *dæg*, day; *fæt*, vessel; *blæc*, black; *bær*, *træd*, and the other past sings. of the 4th and 5th strong classes; hence in *mæg*, can, a “past-present” of the 5th class; *brægd*, past of *bregdan*, brandish (§ 74, e. f.); *dæges*, *dæge*, etc.; *fæder* (*e* < *a*); *æcer*, field; *fæger*, fair.

NOTE. (3) OE. *æ* is steadfast in the gen. and dat. sing. of masculine and neuter nouns of the ordinary declension, such as *dæg*, *fæt*, above; but in all open syllables of adjectives and verbs where *æ* would be normal, *a* is carried over from forms where *a* is normal: *hwate*, instrumental masc. and neut. sing. and nom. acc. masc. pl. of *hwæt*, active; *hwates*, gen. sing. masc. and neuter, on the analogy of *hwatu*, *hwata*, *hwatum*; so *fare*, *faren*, *farende*, following *faran*, etc.

101. (W.) Germ. *e* often remains in OE.; e.g. in many verbs of the 3rd, 4th and 5th strong classes, such as *helpan*, *beran*, *brecan*, *tredan*, pp. *getreden*; and in *feld*, field; *helm*, helmet; *weg*, way, etc.

102. (W.) Germ. *i* (see § 98, Note 1) often remains in OE.; e.g. in the past plural and past part. stems of strong verbs of the 1st Class: *scine*, *scinon*, *gescinen*, etc.; in the prons. *ic*, *inc*, *hit*; in the “past-present” verb *witan*; in *is*, *is*; in *fisc*, fish; *micel*, great, etc.; in verbs of the strong Class IIIb (“Drink”): *drincan*, *winnan*, fight, etc.; in *blind*, blind; in the 2nd and 3rd sing. of strong verbs of the 3rd, 4th and 5th Classes: *hīlpst*, *hīlpð* from *helpan*; *bir(e)st*, *bir(e)ð* from *beran*; *itst*, *itt* from *etan*; and in “weak presents” of the 5th Class of strong verbs: *biddan*, ask; *sittan*, etc.

NOTES. (1) (W.) Germ. *i* has weakened to *e* in *mec*, *me*, and in several other pronominal forms in which the *e* was subsequently lengthened, e.g. *mē*, to *me*, *me* (see § 161).

(2) OE. *i* is replaced by *y* (sometimes *e*) in the negative forms of *witan* and *willan*, *nytan*, *nyllan* (*nellan*), etc., and occasionally in other words, especially in LWS. Cp. the replacement of EWS. *ie* by LWS. *y* (§ 116).

103. (W.) Germ. *o* (see § 98, N. 2) usually remains in OE.; e.g. in past parts. of Classes II., IIIa. and IV. of strong verbs: *geboden*, *geholpen*, *geboren*; and in

gold, <i>gold</i>	wolc(e)n, <i>cloud</i>	folgian, <i>to follow</i>
scop, <i>bard</i>	scotung, <i>shot</i>	ofer, <i>over</i>
corn, <i>corn</i>		

and many other words.

NOTE. (W.) Germ. *o* > *u* in a number of words, e.g.

sugu, <i>sow</i>	wull, <i>wool</i>	lufian, <i>to love</i>
fugol, <i>bird</i>	bucca, <i>buck</i>	cnucian, <i>to knock</i>
full, <i>full</i>	rust, <i>rust</i>	ufan, <i>above</i>
lufu, <i>love</i>	wulf, <i>wolf</i>	furðor, <i>further</i> (cp. <i>forð</i>)

For this change no reason has been assigned.

104. (W.) Germ. *u* often remains; e.g. in past plurals of the 2nd and 3rd Classes of strong verbs: *budon*, *hulpon*, *druncon*; in past parts. of Class IIIb.: *gedruncen*; and in

sunu, <i>son</i>	hungor, <i>hunger</i>	unc, <i>(to) us two</i>
grund, <i>ground</i>	burg, <i>stronghold</i>	lungre, <i>quickly</i>

NOTE. (W.) Germ. *u* > *o* in the stressed prefix *or-* (out of, without); e.g.

orlege, <i>war</i>	orsorg (= Lat. <i>se-curus</i>)
orðqnc, <i>skill</i>	ormōd, <i>despondent</i>

105. Germ. *i* = W. Germ. *ā* (§ 99) > (i) OE. *ā*, (ii) usually OE. *æ*.

(i) OE. *ā* is found, i.e. W. Germ. *ā* remains, (1) before *w*: e.g. the past plural etc. of *sēon*, *sāwon*; *clāwu* (claw), *tāwian*

(prepare), and the foreign word *pāwa* (peacock). (2) In an open syllable before a guttural vowel, interchanging with *-ǣ*: *slūpan* ∞ *slǣpan*, to sleep; *lūgon* ∞ *lǣgon*, past pl. of *licgan*; *lācnian* ∞ *lǣcnian* (i < ē), to heal; *māgas* ∞ *mǣgas*, *māgum* ∞ *mǣgum*, pl. of *mæg*, kinsman.

(ii) OE. (WS.) *ǣ* is the normal development of Germanic *ā* through W. Germ. *ā*, just as OE. *æ* is of Germ. *a* (cp. § 100). Examples are seen in the past pls. of strong Classes IV. and V.: *bǣron*, *trǣdon*; in some Reduplicating verbs, *lǣtan*, etc.; in the privative prefix *ǣ-*, e.g. *ǣmen*, uninhabited; and in *rǣd* ('rede'), *wǣpn* (weapon), *strǣt* (< L. *strāta*), etc.

NOTE. Germanic *ā* (§ 98, N. 3) > OE. *ō*; but as this is in reality a case of nasal influence it is dealt with in § 152.

106. (W.) Germ. *ē* is the only letter that passed into English without undergoing any change. It is of comparatively rare occurrence. Exs.: *hēr*, here; *mēd*, reward; and past tenses in *ē* of Reduplicating verbs: *lēt*, *slēpon*, etc. (Sievers).

107. (W.) Germ. *ī* > OE. *ī* in the great majority of instances; e.g. all the present parts of strong verbs of Class I.: *scīnan*, *scīn*, *scīnende*, etc.; *oferōhlō* (§§ 81 and 98, N. 4) from *oferōdon* (excel); *līf* (life), *wīs* (wise), *wīsian* (to direct), etc.

108. (W.) Germ. *ō* almost always > OE. *ō*; e.g. past tenses of strong verbs of Class VI.: *fōr*, *fōron*; hence in *mōt* (may), a "past-present" of Class VI.; some Reduplicating verbs:

blōwan, to bloom *grōwan*, to grow *swōgan*, to sound
and in

dōm, doom *ōfost*, haste *swōte*, sweetly
wrōht, accusation *gōd*, good *sōhte*, sought

109. (W.) Germ. *ū* almost always remains in OE.; e.g. aorist-presents of the 2nd class of strong verbs: *lūcan* (lock), *būgan* (bow), etc.; *tūn* (enclosure), *fūl* (foul), *rūm* (roomy), *ōūhte* (see § 98, N. 4) from *ōyncan* (seem).

110. (W.) Germ. *ai* > OE. *ā* usually; e.g. the past sing. of the 1st class of strong verbs: *stāg* from *stigan* (ascend), *scān* from *scīnan* (shine); hence in *wāt* (know), *āg* (possess), "past-presents" of Class I.; in some Reduplicating verbs: .

<i>hātan</i> , <i>command</i>	<i>lācan</i> , <i>play</i>	<i>swāpan</i> , <i>sweep</i>
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and in

<i>stān</i> , <i>stone</i>	<i>ān</i> , <i>one</i>	<i>mā</i> , <i>more</i>
<i>sār</i> , <i>wound</i>	<i>hāl</i> , <i>hale</i>	

111. (W.) Germ. *au* > OE. *ēa* usually; e.g. the past sing. of strong verbs of Class II.: *crēap* from *crēopan* (creep), *cēas* from *cēosan* (choose); hence in *dēag* (avails), a "past-present" of the same class; Reduplicating verbs with root-vowel *ēa*: *bēatan* (beat), *hēawan* (hew), etc.;

<i>dēað</i> , <i>death</i>	<i>hēah</i> , <i>high</i>	<i>ēac</i> , <i>eke</i>
<i>hēafod</i> , <i>head</i>	<i>glēaw</i> , <i>prudent</i>	<i>ðēah</i> , <i>though</i>
<i>ēare</i> , <i>ear</i>		

112. (W.) Germ. *eu* > OE. *ēo* (*īo*) invariably; e.g. strong verbs of Class II.:

<i>crēopan</i> , <i>creep</i>	<i>sēoðan</i> , <i>seethe</i>	<i>hrēowan</i> , <i>rue</i> ;
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and

<i>dēor</i> , <i>animal</i>	<i>ðēod</i> , <i>nation</i>	<i>getrēow</i> , <i>true</i>
<i>hrēow</i> , <i>regret</i>	<i>dēop</i> , <i>deep</i>	<i>sēoc</i> , <i>sick</i>
<i>lēoht</i> , <i>light</i>		

alternating with *crīopan*, *dīor*, *līoht*, *ðīod*, *dīop*, *sīoc*, etc.

NOTES. (1) (W.) Germ. *eu* occasionally remains unchanged in the oldest texts: *ðeuw* = *ðēow*, servant.

(2) (W.) Germ. *iu* arose only before *i* or *j* (see § 98, N. 5), which subsequently caused mutation to *īe* in the OE. period. See § 126.

113. The following table shows the normal correspondences between the stressed vowels of Germanic, Gothic, Icelandic, Old High German and Old English. To include in such a table the special developments dealt with in the succeeding paragraphs,

especially where they are as numerous as in Icelandic and Old English, would simply be to rob the table of any use it may have

NORMAL CORRESPONDENCES OF STRESSED VOWELS.

Germanic	Gothic	Icelandic	OHG.	OE.
a	a	a	a	æ (a)
e	i, ai (= e)	e	e	e
i	i, ai (= e)	i	i	i
o	u, au (= o)	o	o	o
u	u, au (= o)	u	u	u
ā (§ 98, N. 3)	ā	ā	ā	ō
æ (W. Germ. ā)	ē	ā	ā	æ (ā)
ē	ē	ē	ie	ē
ī	ei (= ī)	ī	ī	ī
ō	ō	ō	uo (ua)	ō
ū	ū	ū	ū	ū
ai	ái	ei	ei, (ē)	ā
au	áu	au	ou (ō)	ēa
eu	iu	jō (ȳ)	eo, io (iu)	ēo

B. THE OLD ENGLISH SOUND-LAWS.

114. Under the above convenient and comprehensive heading it is proposed to trace the chief developments of the Germanic stressed vowels (*apart from the normal correspondences*), which took place in the OE. period, prehistoric and historic. Under this heading are included (a) Changes due to following vowels, (b) to neighbouring consonants, (c) to the loss of consonants; (d) Lengthening and Shortening. Following this arrangement the laws of sound-change are considered under the following names:

- (a) I. *I-* or *J*-Mutation (Mut.).
 - II. *U-* or *O*-Mutation (*U*-Mut.).
- (b) III. Palatal Mutation (Mut. Pal.).
 - IV. Breaking (Brk^s).
 - V. Glide-Diphthongisation (Glide-Diph.).
 - VI. Palatal Diphthongisation (Pal. Diph.).
 - VII. „ Monophthongisation (Pal. Mon.).
 - VIII. Influence of preceding *W* (*W*-Infl.).
 - IX. „ following *W* (Infl.-*W*).
 - X. „ „ Nasal (Infl.-*N*).
- (c) XI. Lengthening in compensation for lost Nasal (Loss-*N*).
 - XII. Contraction (Contr.).
 - XIII. Lengthening in compensation for loss of *G* or *H*
 - (Loss-*G*, Loss-*H*).
- (d) XIV. Lengthening (Length^s).
 - XV. Shortening (Short^s).

The foregoing names (if sometimes clumsy) are *significant*; that is to say, they suggest with sufficient clearness the nature of the processes which they denote. The abbreviations in parentheses are convenient substitutes, especially for the longer names, and frequently save making a reference.

115. It is not possible to assign the exact chronological order in which the processes represented above came into operation. Some of them, e.g. Breaking, were completed in prehistoric times, others had hardly manifested themselves at the commencement of the historic OE. period, e.g. *U*-Mutation; some of them must have been in operation over a considerable period of time, e.g. Palatal Mutation. But by careful observation of the processes that precede, and the processes that follow, other processes in the successive sound-changes of the same word, the present writer has formulated the following scheme of **processes in the approximate order of their appearance**, which is probably not very far from the truth. Those on the same level are supposed to be nearly synchronous, but dates are not assigned (for abbreviations see above).

(1)	Shortening	
(2) Breaking	Contraction	Infl.- <i>N</i>
(3)	Lengthening	
(4) Pal. Diph.		Loss- <i>N</i>
(5)	<i>I</i> -Mutation	
(6) <i>U</i> -Mutation		Infl.- <i>W</i>
(7) <i>W</i> -Infl.	Mut. Pal.	Loss- <i>G</i> , - <i>H</i>
(8)	Palatal Monophthongisation	

116. *General Statements.* It may be well to premise, in order to avoid reiteration,

(1) that EWS. *ie* (*i̇*), *ie* (*ī*), are invariably replaced in LWS. by *i* and *ī*, or *y* and *ȳ*, usually the latter.

(2) that *eo* and *io* often replace each other in WS., and likewise *ēo* and *īo*, but that WS. usually prefers *eo* and *ēo*, even where *io* and *īo* are etymologically correct. But in the following sections these diphthongs are used *correctly*, i.e.

eo < *e*, *ēo* < *ē*, *io* < *i̇*, *īo* < *ī*.

(3) that WS. represents the sound of *ɔ* (open *o*), for which it had no distinct sign, by *a* or by *o*, but in this book the sign *ɔ* is used uniformly.

MUTATION (*Umlaut*).

117. **Mutation** may be defined as the influence exerted upon a stressed vowel by the vowel of a following (usually the next) syllable in the same word, or rarely by a consonant (Mut. Pal.) immediately following, by which influence the vowel-sound of the stressed syllable is modified in anticipation of, and therefore in the direction of, the following sound. It is therefore a process of the economy of speech. The vocal organs, for example, eased the effort of transition from a guttural to a palatal vowel by partially palatalising the guttural vowel, as in *ā* > *ǣ*.

There are three kinds of mutation in OE.:

I. *I-* or *J-*Mutation, called briefly *I-*Mutation or simply Mutation, which was caused by a following *i* or *j* in the same word.

II. *U-* or *O-*Mutation, called briefly *U-*Mutation, which was caused by a following *u* or *o* in the same word.

III. Palatal Mutation, which was caused by a palatal consonant immediately following.

I. *I*-MUTATION.

118. *I*-Mutation is the influence exerted by a following *i* or *j* upon the vowel-sound of a stressed syllable, by which that sound is partially assimilated to the sound of the mutating letter. In this mutation, the mutating sounds being palatal, the effect is a palatalisation, i.e. the replacement of a less palatal vowel by a more palatal vowel in every instance. The *i* or *j* that caused the mutation has either disappeared or weakened to *e* in most cases in historic OE.; exceptions, however, are seen in such verbs as *nerian* = *nerjan* (§ 85), and in some adjs., e.g. *hefig* (heavy), *wielisc* (foreign); while numerous traces of mutating *i* and *j* have been pointed out in the Accidence. On the other hand, the *i* in verbs of the 3rd weak class ("Look"), *lōcian*, *lufian*, is a weakening of *ō*, and therefore does not cause *i*-mutation (see § 91).

Mutation and Gradation. Mutation is a perfectly simple phenomenon; but the subject has been obscured and confused by its being classed and explained side by side with Gradation, with which it has no conceivable connection except by way of contrast. **Gradation** is a *relation of different vowels in words derived from one root existing side by side at the same time*; **Mutation** is a *change of vowel in one and the same word*, which at one period, therefore, had one vowel-sound, and at a later time another (the mutated vowel). Gradation is a *relation of different vowels to one another*; Mutation is a *change in the history of one vowel*.

119. **Mutation explained.** Great confusion has resulted from loose ideas and statements as to the epoch when derivative words were formed. This is an important point and must be cleared up once for all. From the OE. noun *gold*, it is said, was formed an adjective *gylden*, thus: *gold* + *in* > *gylden*. Unfortunately, the OE. *i*-mutation of *o* is *e*, and if therefore the above adjective had been an OE. formation at all, it would have been *gelden*, not *gylden*. Again, from an OE. noun **wunsc* was formed, it is said, a verb *wýscan* (wish), thus: *wunsc* + *ian* > *wunscian* > *wūscian* > *wýscan*; but, unfortunately, the OE.

noun **wunsc* never existed, in all probability. Even Sievers allows himself to speak of the *i*-mutation of *eo* and *ēo*, although he himself states quite clearly elsewhere "that the *e* of the Indo-European Parent Speech was regularly changed to Germanic *i* when the next syllable contained an *i* or *j*¹," that is to say, *in every word, in which OE. i-mutation could possibly take place, Germanic e and eu > i and iu*, which in the pre-mutation period of OE. > *io* and *īo* (and not, accurately speaking, *eo* and *ēo*).

The truth is simply this: most OE. derivative words are not OE. formations at all, as we know from their existing in one or more of the cognate languages and therefore also in the parent Germanic. Many of them are of immemorial antiquity. This is just as true of the 2nd and 3rd sing. pres. of verbs as of the principal parts. From the remote ancestor of *hātan*, e.g., there had once been formed a 3rd sing. pres. something like *haiteti*. Once formed, this word had an independent existence and came under sound-laws which did not affect *hātan*. It reached the OE. pre-mutation period in the form *hātīð* > OE. *hætt*. So with the other words named above. *Gylden* and the OHG. *guldrin* prove the existence of a Germanic parent adjective, whose *i* preserved the radical *u* from change to *o* (§ 98, N. 2) until the OE. *i*-mutation period. OE. *wīscan* and OHG. *wunskēn* prove the existence of a Germanic *wunskjan*, from which of course *wīscan* is directly descended, and not from an OE. **wunsc*, the fictitious parent of a verb with real blue Germanic blood in its veins.

120. We have already seen that there was what may be called a Germanic *i*-mutation (§ 98, N. 1, 5), by which *e* > *i* and *eu* > *iu*. There is therefore no OE. mutation *e* > *i*; every such change, as in *hīlp(e)ð*, 3rd sing. of *helpan*, *bir(e)ð* of *beran*, *tritt* of *tredan*, in *biððan* and the other "weak presents" of the "Tread" class (cp. pp. *gebēden*), had already occurred in Germanic. But this Germanic *i* could and did, in some words, suffer "breaking" to *io*, and then underwent in OE. a second *i*-mutation, viz. *io* > *ie*.

¹ Sievers' *OE. Grammar*, Cook's translation, § 45.

An example is seen in Germanic *herdjo* > *hirdjo* > OE. **hiorðjo* > *hierde*, herdsman. Similarly *eu* underwent double mutation, first in Germanic, then in OE.: *eu* > *iu* > OE. *īo* > *īe*.

I-Mutation in OE. can follow Breaking, Pal. Diph., Infl.-*N*, Loss-*N*, and Contraction, and can itself be followed by Infl.-*W*, and Loss-*G-H*. Mutated forms of English proper names, such as *Kent*, *Temes*, prove that *I*-Mutation is to be dated after the Saxon Conquest. Pogatscher suggests about the year 600 A.D.

The results of *I*-Mutation in OE. may conveniently be shown as follows:

(i)	(a >) æ > e (æ)	(ii)	ā > æ
(iii)	ea > ie	(iv)	ēa > īe
(v)	io > ie	(vi)	(iu >) īo > īe
(vii)	o, o > e	(viii)	ō > ē
(ix)	u > y	(x)	ū > ŷ

121. (i) (a >) æ > e. In positions in which original *a* could suffer *I*-Mutation, it had already become *æ* or *e* (§§ 100 (b), 148) before the *I*-Mutation period (except as stated in Note 2).

Examples: *lēcgan* (lay), cp. *læg*, past sing. of *licgan*; *settān* (set), cp. *sæt*, past sing. of *sittan*; *tellan*, cp. *talū* (tale); *nerian* (to save); *mēte* (meat), an *i*-stem; *hēll*, a *j*-stem; and "weak presents" of the "Fare" class: *hēbban* (raise), cp. pp. *gehafen*; *scēððan* (injure), and *swerian* (swear).

NOTES. (1) *æ* instead of *e* is regularly found in the 2nd and 3rd sing. pres. of strong verbs of Class VI.: *færst*, *færd*, from *faran*; in the mutated past parts. of the same Class, *ge* *gefaren*, etc.; in *hæfst*, *hæfd*, from *habban*; in *sægst*, *sægd*, *segð*, from *secgan*; in *stæppan* = *steppan*; and uniformly in *fæstan* (secure), *hæftan* (imprison), etc.

(2) The influence of the *i* (but not *j*) of a final syllable penetrated to the initial syllable and caused mutation, if the second syllable was short and had a guttural vowel. Exs.

æðele (< *aðuli), noble; *gædeling* (< *gaduling), relative; *tō-gædere* (< *gaduri), together.

122. (ii) $\bar{a} > \bar{æ}$. Exs.: *lædan* (lead), cp. *lāð*, past of *līðan* (go); *læfan* (leave), cp. *lāf*, past of *līfan* (remain); *læran* (teach), cp. *lār* (teaching); *blæwð*, 3rd sing. of *blāwan* (blow); *dæl* (part), an *i*-stem; *læwan* (betray).

NOTE. OE. (WS.) $\bar{æ}$, the normal equivalent of Germanic \bar{a} (W. Germ. \bar{a}), is not subject to *i*-mutation. Hence it is not obvious that *dæd*, deed, is an *i*-stem, and that *læce*, leech, and *mære*, great, are *j*-stems.

123. (iii) $ea > i(e)$. Examples: *hi(e)lt*, *wieað*, 3rd sing. pres. of *healdan* (hold), *weaxan* (grow); *slieħst*, 2nd sing. pres. of *slēan* (strike); *mi(e)ht* (might), *slieħt* (blow), *i*-stems; *bi(e)ldu* (boldness), \bar{i} -stem, cp. *beald* (bold); *i(e)ldra*, compar. of *eald* (old); *hli(e)hhan* (laugh); *cwielman* (torment), cp. *cwealm* (destruction); *giest* (guest), *i*-stem; *sci(e)ppan* (create), "weak-present."

NOTE. EWS. $i(e)$, $\bar{i}(e)$, whatever their origin, are regularly replaced later by *y*, \bar{y} , which sometimes appear in EWS. For $i(e) < ea$ EWS. not infrequently has *y* before *l* or *r*: *yldest* ∞ *ieldest* (oldest); *gewyldan* ∞ *gewi(e)lilan* (control); *dyrne* ∞ *dierne* (secret); *wyrnan* ∞ *wiernan* (refuse).

124. (iv) $\bar{e}a > \bar{i}(e)$. Examples: *hiewð*, *hliepð*, 3rd sing. pres. of the Reduplicating verbs, *hēawan* (hew), *hlēapan* (leap); *lēg* (flame), *i*-stem; *nīeten* (small animal), cp. *nēat* (animal); *hīehst*, superl. of *hēah* (high); *ālī(e)fan* (allow); *gelī(e)fan* (believe); *cīese* (cheese).

125. (v) $io > i(e)$. Here belong all the examples usually given under *eo*, as explained in § 119: *fi(e)ht*, *wi(e)rð*, 3rd sing. pres. of *feohtan* (fight), *weorðan* (become); *gesi(e)hð*, *gefi(e)hð*, 3rd sing. pres. of *gesēon* (see), *gefeon* (rejoice); *hi(e)rde* (herdsman), cp. *heord* (herd); *bi(e)rhtu* (brightness), cp. *beorht* (bright); *fierst* (time), *i*-stem; *wi(e)rðe* (worthy), cp. *weorð* (worth); *āfierran* (remove), cp. *feorr* (far); *liehtan* (make easy), cp. *lioht* (light, easy).

126. (vi) $\bar{i}o > \bar{i}e, \bar{i}$. Here belong all the examples usually given under $\bar{e}o$, as explained in § 119: *crēpð*, *scētet*, 3rd sing. pres. of *crēopan* (creep), *scēotan* (shoot); *getrēwe* (true), cp. *trēow* (truth); *lī(e)htan* (illuminate), cp. *lēoht* (light); *stī(e)ran* (guide), cp. *stēor* (guidance); *striēnan* (obtain), cp. *gestrēon* (possessions); as well as *fīend*, *friēnd*, dat. sing. and nom. pl. of *fīond* (enemy), *friōnd* (friend).

127. (vii) $\bar{o}, o > \bar{e}$. (a) Examples of $\bar{o} > \bar{e}$: *stēnt*, 3rd sing. pres. of *stēndan* (stand); *bēnd* (bond), *i*-stem, cp. *bōnd*, past sing. of *bindan*; *mēn(n)*, dat. and pl. of *mōn(n)*, man; *strengra*, compar. of *strong*; *fremman* (perform), cp. *fro(m)* (bold); *nemnan* (to name), cp. *nōma* (name); *sēndan* (to send), cp. *sōnd* (message); *tēmian* (to tame), cp. *tōm* (tame).

(b) The only examples of $o > \bar{e}$ are: *dēhter*, dat. of *dohtor* (daughter); *ēxen*, pl. of *oxa* (ox); *mērgen* (morn), cp. *mōrgen*; *ēfes* (eaves); *ēle* (oil).

128. (viii) $\bar{o} > \bar{e}$. Exs.: *blēwð*, *grēwð*, 3rd sing. pres. of the Reduplicating verbs *blōwan* (bloom), *grōwan*; the "weak-present" *wēpan* (weep), cp. pp. *wōpen*; *swēg* (sound), cp. *swōgan* (to roar); *brēðer*, dat. of *brōðor*; *swēte* (sweet), cp. *swōte* (sweetly); *dēman* (to judge), cp. *dōm* (doom); *ēfstan* (to hasten), cp. *ōfost* (haste); *sēcan* (to seek), cp. *sōhte* (sought); *cwēn* (woman), *i*-stem; *gecwēman* (to please); *gēs*, dat. and pl. of *gōs* (goose); *smēðe* (smooth), cp. *smōðe* (smoothly); *gesēðan* (to prove), cp. *sōð* (true); *ēhtan* (to pursue), cp. *ōht* (persecution); *fēhst*, *fēhð*, 2nd and 3rd sing. pres. of *fōn* (to seize).

129. (ix) $u > y$. Exs.: *cymð*, 3rd sing. pres. of *cuman* (come); the "past-present" subjunctives *dyge*, *dyrrre*, *gemyne*, *scyle*, *ðyrfe*, cp. *dugon*, etc.; *hyngran* (to hunger), cp. *hungor*; *gesynto* (health), cp. *gesund* (sound); *byr(i)g*, dat. of *burg* (fort); *pytt* (pit); *wylfen* (she-wolf), cp. *wulf*; *wyllen* (woollen), cp. *wull*; *fyllan* (fill), cp. *full*. In nearly all other instances, such as *gylden* (golden), *gyden* (goddess), *bycgan* (buy), *y* appears to be the *i*-mutation of *o* (in *gold*, *god*, *bohte*), as it is still often said to be.

But the truth is that *y* cannot possibly be the mutation of *o*; for not only is *e* the mutation of *o*, and no vowel has two mutated forms; but we have already seen that Germanic *u* was protected by a following *i, j*, from the change into *o*, which was undergone by the pair-words *gold, god, bohte*, etc. (see § 98, N. 2).

NOTE. After palatal *g, c, sc*, we not infrequently find *i* for *y*: *gingra, gingest* (always with *i*), compar. and superl. of *iung, geong* (young); *scile* = *scyle*, etc.

130. (x) $\bar{u} > \bar{y}$. Examples: *brȳcð, lȳcð*, 3rd sing. pres. of *brūcan* (enjoy), *lūcan* (lock); *brȳd* (bride), *fȳst* (fist), *i*-stems; *cȳðan* (to make known), cp. *cūð* (known); *fȳsan* (to hasten), cp. *fūs* (eager); *wȳscan* (to wish).

II. U-MUTATION.

131. *U*-Mutation (under which we include *O*-Mutation) is the influence exercised by a following guttural vowel upon a stressed *i, e, or a*, in consequence of which, i.e. in anticipation of the following guttural vowel, a guttural glide-sound arose after the stressed vowel, and in time formed a diphthong with it. Thus

- (i) $i + a, o, u > io,$
- (ii) $e + a, o, u > eo,$
- (iii) $a + \quad u > ea (= \text{æa}).$

The vowel *a* does not suffer *o*-mutation in WS., and *u*-mutation of *a* is very rare. Indeed the effects of this influence generally are very limited in WS., as compared with the other dialects. The guttural vowels that caused this mutation, being vowels of unstressed syllables, have so frequently weakened in historic times, *u* to *o*, *o* to *a*, etc., that some knowledge of prehistoric forms is necessary in order to discriminate *u*-mutations from *o* (*a*)-mutations.

U-Mutation could be followed, in the history of the same word, by *W*-Infl. (§ 114), but no other change either preceded or followed it. It is generally wanting before *c* and *g*. In most words in which this mutation is seen, forms with the original vowel unchanged are also found.

132. (i) *i* > *io* (*eo*). This is by far the most extensive of the three effects in WS. It is especially common in EWS. Later, the sound reverted to simple *i*, or the effect was disguised by the operation of *W*-Infl. Examples are :

(a) *u*-mutations :

freoðo, <i>peace</i>	siolofr, seolfor, <i>silver</i>
mioloc, meolc, <i>milk</i>	liomu, <i>pl. of lim, limb</i>
siodu, <i>custom</i>	swiotul, sweetol, <i>clear</i>

(b) *o(a)*-mutations :

wiotan, <i>counsellors</i>	bileofa, <i>food</i>
hiora, <i>of them</i>	tiolast, <i>aimest at</i>
nioðor, <i>downwards</i>	liofað, <i>lives (from libban)</i>
neoðan, <i>from beneath</i>	

NOTE. It is to be remembered that most of the above words are also found in EWS. with original *i* unchanged : *hira, sido*, etc.

133. (ii) *e* > *eo* is pretty common, but is not as a rule caused by inflectional *u*. Examples are :

(a) *u*-mutations :

eofor, <i>boar</i>	weorod, <i>troop</i>
heofon, <i>heaven</i>	sweostor, <i>sister</i>
heorot, <i>hart</i>	seofon, <i>seven</i> .

(b) *o(a)*-mutations :

weola, <i>weal</i>	weorold, <i>world</i>
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134. (iii) *a* > *ea* is very rare in EWS. prose, being found only in the three words *ealu*, gen. *ealoð* (*ale*), *cearu* (*sorrow*), *sleacnes* (*slackness*). As forms with *ea* are common in poetical

texts, it is probable that they adopted the *ea* from the Anglian originals: *beadu*, *heaðu*, battle; *eafoð*, strength, etc.

NOTES. (1) The *ea* in *bearu* (grove), *bealu* (evil), etc., is a "breaking" borrowed from the oblique cases, *bearwes* (§ 136), etc. On the other hand, the *ea* of *geatu*, pl. of *geat* (gate), is borrowed from the sing. (§§ 100, 143).

(2) The *protecting* influence of a following guttural vowel we have already seen in the retention of original *a*, *ā*, in *dagas*, *fatu*, *māgas*, etc. (§§ 100, 105).

III. PALATAL MUTATION.

135. Palatal Mutation is the palatalisation of a stressed vowel through the influence of a palatal consonant immediately following. It is of little importance in WS. in comparison with the other dialects. There are four cases, one of which is doubtful, and two more of which are confined to LWS. In three of the four cases Palatal Mutation follows Breaking: no other change either preceded or followed it. The four cases are as follows:

(i) *eo* > *i(e)* in EWS. in the four words *cni(e)ht*, servant, *riht*¹, right, *wri(e)xl*, exchange, and *si(e)x*, six. In these words, guttural *h* (*x* = *hs*), which had 'broken' *e* to *eo*, became palatal and then palatalised the preceding vowel. In *feohtan*, *gefeoht* (fight), there was no further change.

(ii) *ea* > *i(e)* in *ni(e)ht* (night) in EWS., and later in *mihte* < *meahte* (could) and *mihtig* (mighty). This is the doubtful case; but it is difficult to see to what other cause than Palatal Mutation the change can be attributed.

NOTE. *Mi(e)ht* (might) is an *i*-stem and its change of vowel is therefore an *i*-mutation; but *ni(e)ht* (night) belongs to a class (§ 39) of nouns which suffer *i*-mutation in the oblique sing. and nom. pl. only.

¹ *Riht* occurs but three times in EWS.; elsewhere always *ryht*.

(iii) *ea* > *e* in LWS. before *h* (*x*). Examples: *seh* < *seah* (saw); *sleh* < *sleah*, 2nd sing. imperative of *slēan* (strike). ..

(iv) *ēa* > *ē* in LWS. before *h*, *g*, *c*. Examples are seen in the past sing. of strong verbs of Class II.: *tēh* < *tēah* from *tēon*, to draw; *bēg* < *bēag* from *būgan*, to bow; *lēc* < *lēac* from *lūcan*, to lock; and in *ŷēh* < *ŷeah* (though), etc. This is the case in which Breaking did not precede.

IV. BREAKING.

136. Breaking is a process of the same nature as *U*-Mutation, but was caused by following guttural consonants. To ease the transition from the palatal vowels *æ* (< *a*), *e*, *i*, to a guttural *h*, covered *l* (i.e. *l* followed by another consonant), or covered *r*, immediately following, a guttural glide-sound arose, which soon formed a diphthong with the preceding vowel. Thus

(i) (*a* >) *æ* + *u* + *h*, *r* (+ const.), *l* (+ const.) > *ea* + etc.

(ii) *e* + *o* + *h*, *r* (+ const.), *l* (+ *c* or *h*) > *eo* + etc.

(iii) *i* + *o* + *h*, *r* (+ const.), > *io* (*eo*) + etc.

This table shows at a glance the vowels affected by breaking, its causes and conditions, and its results. Although the vowels affected and the results are the same as in the similar process of *U*-Mutation, it is only rarely possible to confound the two. Except in monosyllables, where *u*-mutation is necessarily impossible, breaking was always conditioned by two following consonants; whereas *u*-mutation did not penetrate through two consonants, except in rare instances (such as *sweostor*, *ŷiossum*

Breaking follows Shortening (of *i*); it can be followed, in the history of one and the same word, by *I*-Mutation, Palatal Mutation, Pal. Mon., *W*-Infl., and Loss-*H*.

137. (i) (a >) æ > ea before *h*(*x*), covered *r*, and covered *l*. Examples are numerous: *feallan* (fall), *healdan* (hold), *weaxan* (grow), of the Reduplicating class of strong verbs; past sing. of strong verbs of the "Help" class: *healp* from *helpan*, *wearð* from *weorðan* (to become), *feaht* from *feohtan* (to fight); hence in the "past-present" verbs *dear*(*r*), *ðearf*, of the 3rd strong class; *seah* from *sēon* (see); similarly in the "past-present" verb *be-ge-neah* (it suffices); *sleah*, sing. imperat. of *slēan* (strike); *meaht*, *meahte*, parts of the "past-present" verb *mæg*; *feax* (hair); *Wealh* (Welshman); *Seaxan* (Saxons); *cealc* (chalk), a foreign word introduced at an early period; all the forms of *bearu* (grove), *bealu* (evil), *searu* (armour), and of the adjs. *gearu* (yare), *nearu* (narrow), in the uninflected forms of all which the broken vowel is borrowed from the oblique cases; *eald* (old); *eall* (all); *earm* (wretched); *eahta* (eight); *earnian* (to earn).

NOTES. (1) *a* before covered *l* sometimes remains: *fallan*, *haldan*, *ald*, *all*, *Walk*.

(2) *ll* < earlier *l + j* does not cause breaking, because the *ll* had become palatal: *hell* (hell), *j*-stem; *sellan* (give); *tellan* (tell).

(3) Metathesis of *r* took place after the Breaking-period; hence there is no breaking in *bærst* (burst), *bærnian* (burn, trans.), *ærn* (house), *gærs* (grass), nor in *berstan* (burst), *ðerscan* (thresh); but, exceptionally, *beornan* < *brinnan* (burn, intrans.) has a broken vowel.

138. (ii) *e* > *eo* before *h*, covered *r*, *lc* and *lh*. Examples: *feohtan* (fight), *weorpan* (throw), of the "Help" class; *seoh*, sing. imperat. of *sēon*; *cneoht* (a servant); *eorðe* (earth); *heord* (herd); *seolh* (seal), cp. *helm* (helmet); *steorra* (star); *seolf* (self), exceptional form of *self*; *teohlian* (arrange); *meolcan* (milk).

139. (iii) *i* > *io*(*eo*) before *h* and covered *r*; but examples are few, because in many words *i*-mutation supervened (see § 125): *Wioht* (Isle of Wight), *beorran* (to burn), *leornian* (to learn), *leoht* (light, easy), *betweoh*, *betweox* (betwixt).

V. GLIDE-DIPHTHONGISATION¹.

140. The above name is used here to denote a process, similar in character to *U*-Mutation and Breaking, and perhaps arising in imitation of them, but differing from them in that the 'glide' is palatal. It is probable that, in imitation of *i* > *io* before guttural *r*, *i* > *ie* before a palatalised *r*, and then the same diphthongisation arose before other consonants. It follows, and is followed by, no other change. In every word in which it is seen, unchanged *i* is also found. Examples are: *bi(e)rnān* (burn), *iernān* (run), of the "Drink" class; *bi(e)rst*, *bi(e)rð*, 2nd and 3rd sing. of *beran* (bear); *bi(e)rst*, 2nd and 3rd sing. of *berstan* (burst); *hi(e)re*, gen. and dat. of *hēo* (she); *hi(e)ne*, acc. of *hē* (he); *gi(e)fð*, *ongi(e)tt* (§ 120), 3rd sing. of *giefun*, *ongietan* (§ 77); *si(e)ndon* (are).

VI. PALATAL DIPHTHONGISATION.

141. The above name is given to a series of changes which consist in the introduction of a palatal 'glide' (*i* or *e*) between an initial palatal consonant (*j*, *g*, *sc*, *c*) and a following stressed vowel; the 'glide' afterwards formed a diphthong with the following vowel, and then, being the first element of the diphthong, took over the stress. This is the general nature of the change; the particular cases are somewhat numerous, occurring, as they do, in the downward history of Germanic stressed *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*, *ā*, *ō*, *ū*, *ai*. They are conveniently summarised in three classes:

- (i) Palatalisation of *ā*, *o*, *ō*, *u*, *ū* after initial *j*.
- (ii) Palatalisation of primary² *e*, *æ*, *ē* after initial palatalised *c*, *g*, *sc*.
- (iii) Palatalisation of *a*, *ā*, *o*, *ō*, *u*, *ū* after initial palatalised *sc*.

¹ This name is equally applicable to *U*-Mutation and Breaking; but they are already better named; and a similar objection might be urged against the term Mutation, which could of course be used of any change whatever.

² I.e. the normal OE. developments of Germanic *e*, *a*, *ā*.

Palatal Diphthongisation could follow Infl.-*N* and Lengthening; and could itself be followed by *I*-Mutation (as in *scieppan*, create; *cīese*, cheese), by Loss-*G* (*ongēan*, against), and by Pal. Mon. (see § 145).

NOTES. (1) Breaking is prior to Pal. Diph. and has the preference. Hence **cerfan* (carve) > *ceorfan*, not *cierfan*. Hence also the *ea* in *geald* is a 'breaking,' whereas the infin. of the same verb, *gieldan* (pay), shows Pal. Diph.

(2) A following *u* or *o* prevents Pal. Diph., and preserves the stressed vowel for subsequent *u*-mutation: e.g. **gelo* (yellow) > *geolo*, not *gielo*. The *ie* of *giefu* (gift) is due to analogy with the oblique *giefe*, and the *ea* of *geatu* (gates) to analogy with the singular *geat*.

142. (i) After initial *j*¹ the following changes occurred—examples are scarce, because but few OE. words began with *j*:

(a) *æ* > *ēa* in *gēa*, yea; *gēar*, year.

(b) *o* > *eo(io)* in *geoc*, yoke.

(c) *ō* (< *ā* by Infl.-*N*.) > *ēo* in *gēomor*, sad.

(d) *u*, *ū*, sometimes remain, as in *iung*, young, *iuguð*, youth, *iū* (< *ju*), formerly;

but usually > *eo(io)*, *ēo*, as in *geong*, *geoguð*, *gēo*.

143. (ii) After initial palatalised *c*, *g*, *sc*, primary *e*, *æ*, *ē* regularly suffered the following changes in EWS.:

(a) *e* > *ie*. Examples: *gieldan* (pay), *giellan* (yell), of Class "Help"; *scieran* (cut), of Class "Bear"; *giefan* (give), *ongiētan* (perceive), pp. *ongiēten*, of Class "Tread."

NOTE. (1) Forms with *i* are also found: *gildan*, *gifan*, etc.

(b) (a >) *æ* > *ea*. Examples: *scear*, past sing. of *scieran*; *geaf*, *-geat*, past sing. of *giefan*, *-gietan*; the "past-present" verb *sceal* (shall); *ceaster* (fort), *geat* (gate), etc. In *giest* (stranger), *scieppan* (create), < **geasti*, **sceappjan*, Pal. Diph. has been followed by *I*-Mutation.

¹ There is no character *j* in OE.; the symbols *i* and *g* were used, usually the latter, as in the above examples. It is only by knowing the history of a word that *g* (= *j*) can be distinguished from *g* (= *g*).

(c) $\bar{æ} > \bar{ē}a$. Examples: *scēaron*, past pl. of *scieran*; *gēafon*, -*gēaton*, past pl. of *giefan*, -*gietan*; *seēap* (sheep). In *cīese* < **cēāsi*, Pal. Diph. has been followed by *I*-Mutation.

NOTE. (2) Only primary *e*, *æ*, $\bar{æ}$, suffer this change. The mutated vowels *ē*, *æ*, $\bar{æ}$ (§§ 121, 122, 127) are unaffected by it: *gescepen* (pp. of *scieppan*), *gædeling*, *tōgædere*.

144. (iii) After initial *sc*, guttural vowels suffered the following changes, but *not uniformly*; in every word in which the changes are seen, the original vowel is also found, even in the same text.

(a) $a > ea$, seen in verbs of the "Fare" class, e.g. *sceacan* \propto *scacan* (shake), pp. *sc(e)acen*.

(b) $\bar{a} > \bar{ē}a$, seen in *scēadan* \propto *scādan* (to distinguish) of the Reduplicating class.

(c) $o > eo$, seen in *sceop* \propto *scop* (bard), *sceolde* \propto *scolde* from *sceal* (shall).

(d) $q > eo$, seen in *sceomu* \propto *scomu* (shame).

(e) $\bar{o} > \bar{ē}o$, seen in past tenses of the "Fare" class, e.g. *scēoc* \propto *scōc* (shook), *scēop* \propto *scōp* from *scieppan*.

(f) $u > eo$, seen in *sceolon* \propto *sculon*, pl. of the "past-present" verb *sceal* (shall). This *eo* may be borrowed from *sceolde* above, since it is the only instance in EWS.

(g) $\bar{u} > \bar{ē}o$ in LWS. only: *scēofan* \propto *scūfan* (shove).

VII. PALATAL MONOPHTHONGISATION.

145. This is a process which consists in the change of the diphthongs *ea*, $\bar{ē}a$, into the palatal monophthongs *e*, $\bar{ē}$, through the influence of initial palatal *j*, *c*, *g*, *sc*. It is frequently the completion of the palatalising process begun in Pal. Diph., but it may also follow Breaking and Loss-*G*. It is itself followed by no other change. It is seen in the downward history of Germanic *a*, $\bar{æ}$ and *au*.

NOTE. Sievers makes the tactical error of including this phenomenon under Palatal Mutation, although, being a forward influence, it is excluded by his definition of Mutation.

Classified examples are :

(a) Following on Pal. Diph. :—*gef* < *geaf* (gave), *onget* < *ongeāt* (perceived), *scel* < *sceal* (shall), *cester* < *ceaster* (castle); *ongēten* < *ongēaten*, past subjunctive of *ongietan*. After *j* :—*gēr* < *gēar*.

(b) Following on Breaking :—*celf* < *cealf* (calf).

(c) Following on Loss-*G* :—*ongēn* (against) < *ongēan* < *ongeagn* (Pal. Diph.).

(d) In LWS. *ēa* (< Germ. *au*) > *ē*, as in the past sing. of verbs of the "Creep" class : *cēs* < *cēas* (chose), *gēt* < *gēat* (poured), *scēt* < *scēut* (shot).

VIII. INFLUENCE OF PRECEDING *W*.

146. The semi-vowel *w* has a close affinity to the vowels *u* and *o*, and its influence tends to substitute one of them for the diphthongs *io*, *eo*, arisen through Breaking or *U*-Mutation. This change therefore in almost every instance follows Breaking or *U*-Mutation; it is itself followed by no other change.

The two chief cases, with selected examples, are :

(a) *wio* usually > *wu* (and even *u*), but both *wi* and *wio* sometimes remain :—*wudu* (wood), rarely *wiodu*; *widurwe* (widow), beside *widuwe*; *wuht* (wight, thing), beside *wiht*; *swutol* (clear), beside *swiotol*; *bet(w)uh*, *bet(w)ux* (betwixt), beside *betwih*, *betweoh*, etc.

(b) *weo* usually remained, but also > *wo* and in LWS. *wu* :—*worold* (world) < *weorold*; *worðig* (street) < *weorðig*; *swostor* (sister), LWS. *swustor*, < *sweostor*; LWS. *swurð* (sword) < *sweorð*.

NOTE. Apparently isolated instances of *wo* < *wa* are seen in *gesworen*, pp. of *swegian* (§ 80), and *geðwogen*, pp. of *ðwān* (§ 78).

IX. INFLUENCE OF FOLLOWING *W*.

147. To ease the transition between *a*, *e*, *ē*, and following *w*, a *u*-‘glide’ arose, which with the preceding vowels formed the diphthongs *au*, *eu*, and these normally passed into EWS. *ēa*, *ēo* (§§ 111, 112). The only other change with which this came into relation was *I*-Mutation, by which it was preceded in several words. In all, however, there are but few examples.

(a) *aw* > *auw* > *ēaw*, seen in *fēawe*, *few*.

(b) *ew* > *euw* > *ēow*, seen in the inflected forms of *ðēo(w)*, *servant*, *cnēo(w)*, *knee*, *trēo(w)*, *tree*, e.g. gen. sg. *ðēowes*, *cnēowes*.

NOTES. (1) The *ēo* of the nom. sg. is due to vocalisation of the *w* and contraction, *w* being afterwards borrowed from the oblique cases.

(2) *Gesewen*, pp. of *sēon* (see), is an exception.

(c) Following *I*-Mutation, *ew* > *euw* > *ēow*, seen in *mēowle* (*maid*), *strēowede* = *strewede* (*strewed*), etc.

X. INFLUENCE OF FOLLOWING NASAL.

148. The influence of a following nasal, already seen in Germanic (§ 98, N. 1, 2), produced in the prehistoric OE period the five following well marked changes :

	Germ.		OE.
(i)	a	>	q
(ii)	e	>	i
(iii)	o	>	u
(iv)	æ	>	ō
(v)	ā	>	ō

This is one of the earliest of the OE. influences, being perhaps synchronous with Breaking. It can be followed by Pal. Diph., Loss-*N*, and *I*-Mutation, and even by the last two in succession in the same word (e.g. *gēs*).

149. (i) $a > \varnothing$. Examples:—*mən(n)*, man; *lənđ*, land; *g*, long; and the “past-present” verbs, *ən(n)*, grant; *cən(n)*, know (how to); (*ge*)*mən*, remember.

NOTES. (1) OE. had no distinctive symbol for the sound of open *o*, and therefore used both *a* and *o* to denote this sound, more often *o* in EWS. This very fluctuation of symbol points to a sound different from both *a* and *o*. It must not be supposed that the sound varied with the symbol, which often fluctuated in the same text.

(2) In a few weak-stressed words, such as *on*, in; the masc. accus. *ðone*, *hwone*, the neuter instr. *ðon*, *hwon*, from *sē*, *hwā*; the advs. *ðonne*, then, *hwonne*, when, etc., *o* is almost invariably found, and we may therefore conclude that the sound was *o*, not *ϕ*.

150. (ii) $e > i$, seen in *niman*, take; and in early borrowings from Latin, e.g. *gim(m)*, gem; *pinsian*, consider.

NOTES. (1) Examples are few, chiefly because $e > i$ in Germanic before nasal plus consonant (§ 98, N. 1); partly because of the exceptions, *cwene*, woman, *denu*, valley, and the late or “learned” borrowing *temp(e)l*, temple.

(2) The history of *cuman* (to come) is probably this: **cweman* > **cwiman* (Infl.-N) > **cwuman* (W-Infl.) > *cuman*.

151. (iii) $o > u$. Exs.: (*ge*)*cumen*, *genumen*, pps. of *cuman*, come, *niman*, take; *wunian*, dwell; and the early borrowings from Latin: *munuc*, monk; *nunne*, nun; *munt*, mount; *pund*, pound; etc. Not in *font*, font, which is therefore probably late.

152. (iv) Germ. $\bar{a} > \text{W. Germ. } \bar{a} > \text{OE. } \bar{o}$. Exs.:—*c(w)ðmon*, *nðmon*, past pls. of *cuman*, *niman*; *gedñn*, pp. of *dñn*, do; *mñna*, moon; *mñnað*, month; *sñna*, soon; etc.

(v) (W.) Germ. \bar{a} (§ 98, N. 3) > OE. \bar{o} . Exs.:—

<i>fñn</i> , seize	<i>bröhte</i> , brought	<i>öht</i> , persecution
<i>hñn</i> , hang (§ 81)	<i>ðöhte</i> , thought (§ 90)	<i>wöh</i> , crooked

NOTE. It may be wondered how this last change comes under Infl.-N. The very fact that this \bar{a} underwent the same change to \bar{o} as the \bar{a} in (iv) above, proves that this \bar{a} had a certain nasal quality surviving from the following *n* lost in the Germanic period, which justifies its classification under Nasal Influence.

XI. COMPENSATORY LENGTHENING FOR LOSS OF NASAL.

153. Just as in Germanic every *a*, *i*, *u*, occurring before *nh*, > *ā*, *ī*, *ū* in compensation for the loss of the *n*; so in the prehistoric OE. period, (*a* >) *ǣ* > *ō*, *i* > *ī*, and *u* > *ū* in compensation for the loss of *n* or *m* before the three other voiceless spirants, *f*, *s*, *ð*. This change may be preceded by Infl.-*N* (in the change *a* > *ǣ*), and is frequently followed by *I*-Mutation (§§ 128, 130).

Classified examples are:

- (a) *i* > *ī*:—*sīð*, journey; *swīð*, strong; *fīf* (< *finf*), five.
- (b) *ǣ* > *ō*:—*gōs*, goose; *tōð*, tooth; *ððer*, second; *sōð*, true; *smōðe*, smoothly; *sōfte* (< *semfte*), softly.
- (c) *u* > *ū*:—*hūs*, 'house'; *mūð*, mouth; *ūs*, us; *cūðe*, *cūð*, *ūðe*, parts of the "past-present" verbs *cunnan* (know), *unnan* (grant).

NOTE. *N* is lost in all the above words but *fīf* and *sōfte*.

XII. CONTRACTION.

154. Contraction is the blending of two following vowel-sounds into one in order to avoid hiatus. The two sounds have in most instances been brought together through the loss of a consonant, usually *h*, sometimes *j* or *w*, rarely another consonant; but there are many instances in which no consonant has been lost. There are two kinds of Contraction: Contraction proper, in which original *a*, *ā*, *e*, *i*, or *ī* forms a diphthong with the following vowel, and which is almost always preceded by the loss of a consonant; and Absorption, in which a long vowel, OE. *ā*, *æ*, *ō*, *ū*, *ȳ*, *ēa*, *ēo*, simply absorbs the following unstressed vowel, and which is often not preceded by the loss of a Consonant. Contraction proper is rarely followed by *I*-Mutation; no other change precedes or follows it. Absorption is much later in date, and can follow Breaking and *I*-Mutation.

• The following are the most important cases :

- (i) a, ā (+ h, w) + guttural vowel > ēa
- (ii) e (+ h) + „ „ > ēo
- (iii) i, ī (+ h, j) + „ „ > īo, (ēo)
- (iv) i (+ j) + o > īe
- (v) Absorptions.

155. (i) W. Germ. a, ā + guttural vowel > ēa after loss of *h* or *w*. Examples:—the contracted verbs of the “Fare” class: *slēan* (< **slahan*), slay; *flēan*, flay; *lēan*, blame; *ŭwēan*, wash; and all present forms of the same, except 2nd and 3rd sing. indic. and 2nd sing. imperat.: *slēa*, (I) slay, etc.; *tēar* (< **tahur*), tear; *ēa* (< **ah(w)u*), water; *clēa* < *clāwu*, claw; *nēar* (< **nāhor*), nearer.

156. (ii) e + guttural vowel > ēo after loss of *h*. Examples:—the contracted verbs of the “Tread” class: *gefēon* (< **fēhan*), rejoice; *plēon*, adventure; *sēon* (< **seh(w)an*), see; *gefēo*, (I) rejoice, etc.; past tenses in *ēo* of the Reduplicating class, resulting from the contraction of the *e* of the reduplicated syllable with the following stressed vowel: *hēold* (< **hehald*), *hēoldon*, held; *fēold* (< **fefald*), folded, etc.; *twēo* (< **tweho*), doubt; *tēoša* (< **tehoša*), tenth.

157. (iii) i, ī + guttural vowel > īo, ēo after loss of *h* or *j*, or without loss of consonant. Examples:—the contracted verbs of the “Shine” class: *ðion* (< **ðihan*), thrive; *lēon*, lend; *tēon*, accuse; *urion*, cover; *ðēo*, (I) thrive, etc.; *bēot* (< **bihāt*), boast; *betwēonum* (< **bitwihrunum*), between; *fiond* (< **fijand*), enemy; *frēond*, friend; *hīo* (< *hi-* + *u*), she; *sēo*, fem. of *sē*, that.

NOTE. • The mutation of this īo (ēo) is seen in the dat. sing. and nom. pl. *fīend*, *friēnd*.

(iv) i + e > īe after loss of *j*. Examples: *sīe* (< **sije*), be; *hīe*, her, they; *ðrīe*, three.

158. Absorptions. Selected examples are arranged under the absorbing vowels :

(a) $\bar{a} + \text{vowel} > \bar{a}$:— $t\bar{a}$ (< $t\bar{a}he$), toe ; $r\bar{a}$, roe ; $g\bar{a}n$ (< $g\bar{a}an$), go.

(b) $\bar{æ} + \text{vowel} > \bar{æ}$:— $s\bar{æ}s$ (< $*s\bar{æ}es$), gen. of $s\bar{æ}$, sea ; $\bar{æ}$ (< $*\bar{æ}e$), oblique sing. of $\bar{æ}$, law.

(c) $\bar{o} + \text{vowel} > \bar{o}$:—the contracted verbs of the Reduplicating class : $f\bar{o}n$ (< $*f\bar{o}han$), seize ; $h\bar{o}n$, hang ; and all present forms of the same, except 2nd and 3rd sing. indic. and 2nd sing. imperat. : $f\bar{o}$, (I) seize, etc. ; $d\bar{o}n$ (< $*d\bar{o}an$), do ; $w\bar{o}s$ (< $*w\bar{o}hes$), gen. of $w\bar{o}h$, crooked.

(d) $\bar{u} + \text{vowel}$ sometimes $> \bar{u}$:— $geb\bar{u}n$ (< $geb\bar{u}en$), $geb\bar{u}d$ (< $*geb\bar{u}ed$), pp. of $b\bar{u}an$, $b\bar{u}gean$, dwell.

(e) $\bar{y} + \text{vowel}$ sometimes $> \bar{y}$:— $dr\bar{y}s$ (< $*dr\bar{y}es$), gen. of $dr\bar{y}$, magician ; but pl. $dr\bar{y}as$, etc.

(f) $\bar{e}a + \text{vowel} > \bar{e}a$:— $fr\bar{e}a$ (< $*frauja$), lord ; several inflected forms of $h\bar{e}ah$, high : $h\bar{e}as$ (< $*h\bar{e}ahes$), etc. (§ 46) ; its weak form, $h\bar{e}a$, etc. ; $f\bar{e}a$ (< $f\bar{e}awe$), dat. $f\bar{e}am$, few.

(g) $\bar{e}o + \text{vowel} > \bar{e}o$:—the contracted verbs of the “Creep” class : $fl\bar{e}on$ (< $*fleuhan$), flee ; $t\bar{e}on$, draw ; $fl\bar{e}o$, (I) flee ; $fl\bar{e}onde$, fleeing, etc.

NOTES. (1) It seems better to attribute such forms as $\bar{e}os$, gen. of eoh , horse, $f\bar{e}os$, gen. of $feoh$, money, to Compensatory Lengthening for Loss of h plus Absorption, than to simple Contraction, i.e. $\bar{e}os$ < $*\bar{e}oes$ < $*eohe$ s rather than $\bar{e}os$ < $*eo(h)es$; because on the latter supposition Contraction must have followed Breaking, which seems improbable ; whereas Absorption is a much later change, as has been stated.

(2) Unstressed e is lost in be and ne in composition with words beginning with a vowel or w :— $b\bar{u}tan$ < $be-\bar{u}tan$, $n\bar{a}n$ < $ne \bar{a}n$, $n\bar{w}s$ < $ne w\bar{w}s$, $nylla\bar{s}$ < $ne willa\bar{s}$.

§III. COMPENSATORY LENGTHENING FOR LOSS OF *ġ* OR *h*.

159. Loss of *h* between vowels is seen in Contraction (and Absorption). *h* is also lost between a resonant (*l, m, n, r*) and a following vowel, with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel. This loss is almost always preceded by Breaking or *I*-Mutation; in one instance (*ðýrel* and its derivatives) it is preceded by both.

Examples are :—*hōles*, gen. of *holh*, hole; *Wēalas*, pl. of *Wealh*, Briton; *mēares*, gen. sg. of *mearh*, horse; *fēore*, dat. sg. of *feorh*, life; *ēorod* (< **eoh-rād*), troop; *fēolan* (< **feolhan*), penetrate; *ōret* (< **or-hāt*), battle; *ðýrel* (< **ðyrhil* < **ðurhil*), aperture; *ðwēal* (< **ðweahl*), bath.

NOTE. In the last example the resonant follows the *h*, and there is no following vowel. Several instances will be found in the Accidence of this disappearance of *h* before a resonant, but after a vowel which is already long : *hēane*, *hēara* from *hēah*, high; *wōne*, *wōra* < *wōhne*, etc., from *wōh*, crooked; *hiera*, higher. The same thing is seen in the compounds *hēalīc*, high; *nēalācan*, approach. Forms with *h* are probably only etymological spellings.

160. Loss of *ġ* often took place between a palatal vowel and *n, d*, or *ð*, with compensatory lengthening of the vowel; but forms with *g* are also very common. This loss could follow *I*-Mutation or Palatal Diphthongisation.

Examples :—*brēdan*, *brǣd*, *brūdon*, *gebrōden*, < *bregdan*, etc., to shake, of the "Help" class; *frīnan*, *frūnon*, *gefrūnen* < *frignan*, etc., to inquire, of the "Drink" class; *sāde* < *sægde*, past of *sęgan*, say; *lēde*, *gelēd*, < *legde*, *gelegd*, from *lēgan*, lay; *māden* < *mægden*, maiden; *ongēan* (< *ongeagn*), against; *ðēn* < *ðegn*, thane; *līð* < *ligð*, from *licgan*, lie; *tīðian* < *tigðian*, grant; *oferhýd* < *oferhygd*, arrogance.

NOTE. Four examples after a guttural vowel, *u* or *o*, are included above; they are doubtless due to analogy with the other parts of the same verbs.

XIV. LENGTHENING.

161. Lengthening of the final vowel of a monosyllable is common, especially after the loss of a final consonant. Examples:—*swā*, so; *bī*, by; *thū*, thou; *nū*, now; and after loss of final consonant:—*mē*, (to) me; *wē*, we; *gē*, ye; *hē*, he (all four with $\bar{a} < e < i$); *hwā*, who; and the prefix *ā-* (§ 174).

XV. SHORTENING.

162. Shortening of \bar{i} to i , followed by Breaking, is seen in the adjective *leoht* = *liht* (< **liht*), light (not heavy), and in the prep. *betweoh* < *betwih*, betwixt (§ 146).

C. UPWARD HISTORY: SELECTED EXAMPLES.

163. In order to complement the two preceding divisions on the Downward History and the Sound-Laws of the stressed vowels, we start here with the OE. vowel-sounds and give in tabular form the principal stages in their development from the Germanic vowels. Almost every possible 'genealogy' of the OE. vowels is illustrated by one example: on the left is the OE. word; from left to right are given the successive stages through which its stressed vowel has passed; on the right is an example of the original vowel from another Germanic language. The Sound-Laws under which each change comes are indicated by abbreviations (§ 114); when no such indication is given, it is implied that the change is normal (§§ 100—13), or independent. It must be remembered that these are only illustrations: some of them stand for the history of the stressed vowels of many OE. words; in the case of a few, it might be difficult to adduce a single other example. With this caution, the table may be used in a variety of ways.

Short Vowels.

OE.

a

faran, <i>go</i>	a < a	OHG. ¹ faran
------------------	-------	-------------------------

dæg, <i>day</i>	æ < a	Go. dags ²
færð, <i>goes</i>	æ (Mut.) < æ < a	Go. farip

beran, <i>bear</i>	e < e	OHG. beran
gef, <i>gave</i>	e (Pal. Mon.) < ea (Pal. Diph.) < æ < a	Go. gaf
celf, <i>calf</i>	e (Pal. Mon.) < ea (Brk ^s) < æ < a	OHG. calb
mec, <i>me</i>	e (Mut. Pal.) < ea (Brk ^s) < æ < a	OHG. mih

lægcan, <i>lay</i>	(Mut.) < æ < a	Go. lagjan
sendan, <i>send</i>	(Mut.) < o (Infl.-N) < a	Go. sandjan
mærgen, <i>morrow</i>	(Mut.) < o	Go. maúrgins

(§ 113)

hit, <i>it</i>	i < i	Go. ita
miht, <i>canst</i>	i (Mut. Pal.) < ea (Brk ^s) < æ < a	OHG. maht
niman, <i>take</i>	i (Infl.-N) < e	OHG. neman
six, <i>six</i>	i (Mut. Pal.) < eo (Brk ^s) < e	OHG. sehs
betwih, <i>between</i>	i (Short ^s) < ī	cp. Go. tweiþnái

(§

¹ OHG. = Old High German, OS. = Old Saxon, I. = Icelandic, Go. = Gothic, Germ. = Germanic.

o

gold, <i>gold</i>	o < o	OHG. gold
sworen, <i>sworn</i>	o (W-Infl.) < a	Go. swarans
LWS. worc, <i>work</i>	o (W-Infl.) < eo (Brk ^s) < e	OHG. werk
swostor, <i>sister</i>	o (W-Infl.) < eo (U-Mut.) < e	OHG. swester
orlege, <i>war</i>	o < u	OS. urlogi

ȝ

hȝnd, <i>hand</i>	ȝ (Infl.-N) < a	Go. handus
-------------------	-----------------	------------

u

sunu, <i>son</i>	u < u	Go. sunus
LWS. swustor, } sister	u (W-Infl.) < eo (U-Mut.) < e	OHG. swester
LWS. swurd, } sword	u (W-Infl.) < eo (Brk ^s) < e	OHG. swert
wudu, <i>wood</i>	u (W-Infl.) < io (U-Mut.) < i	OHG. witu
wulf, <i>wolf</i>	u < o	OHG. wolf
cumen (pp.), <i>come</i>	u (Infl.-N) < o	OHG. quoman
bet(w)uh, } tween	u (W-Infl.) < io (Brk ^s) < i	cp. Go. tweihnái

y

cyssan, <i>kiss</i>	y (Mut.) < u	OS. kussian
---------------------	--------------	-------------

ea

cearu, <i>care</i>	ea (U-Mut.) < a	OHG. chara
feax, <i>hair</i>	ea (Brk ^s) < æ < a	OHG. fahs
geaf, <i>gave</i>	ea (Pal. Diph.) < æ < a	Go. gaf
sceacan, <i>shake</i>	ea (Pal. Diph.) < a	I. skaka

eo

sweostor, <i>sister</i>	eo (U-Mut.) < e	OHG. swester
weorc, <i>work</i>	eo (Brk ^s) < e	OHG. werk
sceomu, <i>shame</i>	eo (Pal. Diph.) < e (Infl.-)	
sceop, <i>bard</i>	eo (Pal. Diph.) < o	OHG. scof
sceolon, <i>shall</i>	eo (Pal. Diph.) < u	Go. skulun
leoht, <i>not heavy</i>	eo (Brk ^s) < i (Short ^s) < ī	Go. leihts

² ie		
ieldu, <i>boldness</i>		Go. balpei
giest, <i>guest</i>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ie (Mut.)} < \text{ea (Pal. Diph.)} \\ < \text{æ} < \text{a} \end{array} \right\}$	Go. gastī ¹
siex, <i>six</i>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ie (Mut. Pal.)} < \text{eo (Brks)} \\ < \text{e} \end{array} \right\}$	OHG. sehs,
giefan, <i>give</i>	ie (Pal. Diph.) < e	OHG. geban
hierde, (<i>shep</i>) <i>herd</i>	ie (Mut.) < io (Brk ^s) < i	OHG. hirti
bierð, <i>bears</i>	ie (Glide-Diph.) < i	OS. birid

io

siolofr, <i>silver</i>	io (U-Mut.) < i	Go. silubr
miox, <i>ordure</i>	io (Brk ^s) < i	OHG. mist
gioc, geoc, <i>yoke</i>	io (Pal. Diph.) < o	OHG. johh
giong, geong, <i>young</i>	io (Pal. Diph.) < u	Go. juggs

Long Vowels.

ā

hāl, <i>whole</i>	ā < ai	Go. hails
sāwon, <i>saw</i>	ā < W. Germ. ā < Germ. æ	Go. sēhwun
hwā, <i>who</i>	ā (Length ^s) < a	Go. hwas

æ

lætan, <i>let</i>	æ < W. Germ. ā < Germ. æ	Go. lētan (§ 113)
læwan, <i>betray</i>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{æ (Mut.)} < \text{W. Germ. ā} < \\ \text{Germ. æ} \end{array} \right\}$	Go. lēwjan
ræran, <i>rear</i>	æ (Mut.) < ā < ai	Go. rāisjan
sæde, <i>said</i>	æ (Loss-G) < æ < a	OHG. sagēta

¹ Forms ending with hyphens are stems. The stem gives the clue to the I-Mutation; the nom. sg. does not.

ē

hēr, <i>here</i>	ē < ē	Go. hēr
fchō, <i>seizes</i>	ē (Mut.) < ō (Infl.-N) < ā	Go. fāhiþ
cwēn, <i>woman</i>	{ ē (Mut.) < ō (Infl.-N) < W. } Germ. ā < Germ. æ	Go. qēns (§ 113)
gēr, <i>year</i>	{ ē (Pal. Mon.) < ēa (Pal.) Diph.) < æ < W. Germ. } ā < Germ. æ	Go. jēr (§ 113)
sēcan, <i>seek</i>	ē (Mut.) < ō	OS. sōkian
LWS. tēh, <i>drew</i>	ē (Mut. Pal.) < ēa < au	Go. táuh
LWS. gēt, <i>poured</i>	ē (Pal. Mon.) < ēa < au	Go. gāut
genēðan, <i>venture</i>	{ ē (Mut.) < ō (Loss-N) < ǣ } (Infl.-N) < a	Go. gananhjan
lēde, <i>laid</i>	ē (Loss-G) < ǣ (Mut.) < æ < a	Go. lagida
ongēn, <i>against</i>	{ ē (Pal. Mon.) < ēa (Loss-G) } < ea (Pal. Diph.) < æ < a	OHG. ingagan
ðēn, <i>thane</i>	ē (Loss-G) < e	OS. thegan
wū, <i>we</i>	ē (Length ^s) < e < i	OHG. wir

ī

wīs, <i>wise</i>	ī < ī	OHG. wīsi
fif, <i>five</i>	ī (Loss-N) < i	Go. fimf
brīdels, <i>bridle</i>	ī (Loss-G) < i	OHG. brittel
bī, <i>by</i>	ī (Length ^s) < i	Go. bi

ō

gōd, <i>good</i>	ō < ō	Go. gōds
fōn, <i>seize</i>	ō (Infl.-N) < ā	Go., OHG. fāhan
cōmon, <i>came</i>	{ ō (Infl.-N) < W. Germ. ā } < Germ. æ	Go. qēmun (§ 113)
gōs, <i>goose</i>	ō (Loss-N) < ǣ (Infl.-N) < a	OHG. gans
brōden, <i>braided</i>	ō (Loss-G) < o	OHG. gibrottan
hōles, <i>of a hole</i>	ō (Loss-H) < o	cp. OHG. hol

lūcan, <i>lock</i>	$\bar{u} < \bar{u}$	Go. galūkan
hūsl, <i>eucharist</i>	\bar{u} (Loss- <i>N</i>) < u	Go. hunsl
brūdon, <i>shook</i>	\bar{u} (Loss- <i>G</i>) < u	OHG. brutton
ðū, <i>thou</i>	\bar{u} (Length ^s) < u	Go. þu

ȳ

brȳd, <i>bride</i>	\bar{y} (Mut.) < \bar{u}	Go. brūdi-
cȳðan, <i>make known</i>	\bar{y} (Mut.) < \bar{u} (Loss- <i>N</i>) < u	Go. kunþjan
oferhȳd, <i>arrogance</i>	\bar{y} (Loss- <i>G</i>) < y (Mut.) < u	cp. Go. hugs
ðȳrel, <i>hole</i>	\bar{y} (Loss- <i>H</i>) < y (Mut.) < u	cp. OHG. thuruh

ēa

tēah, <i>drew</i>	$\bar{e}a < au$	Go. táuh
gēar, <i>year</i>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \bar{e}a \text{ (Pal. Diph.)} < \bar{æ} < W. \\ \text{Germ. } \bar{a} < \text{Germ. } \bar{æ} \end{array} \right\}$	Go. jēr (§ 113)
nēar, <i>nearer</i>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \bar{e}a \text{ (Contr.)} < W. \text{ Germ. } \bar{a} \\ < \text{Germ. } \bar{æ} \end{array} \right\}$	Go. nēhwōz (§ 113)
scēadan, <i>separate</i>	$\bar{e}a \text{ (Pal. Diph.)} < \bar{a} < ai$	Go. skáidan
fēawe, <i>few</i>	$\bar{e}a < au \text{ (Infl.-} W) < a$	Go. fawai
ēa, <i>water</i>	$\bar{e}a \text{ (Contr.)} < a$	Go. ahwa
Wēalas, <i>Britons</i>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \bar{e}a \text{ (Loss-} H) < ea \text{ (Brk}^s) \\ < \bar{æ} < a \end{array} \right\}$	OHG. walh (sing.)
ongēan, <i>against</i>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \bar{e}a \text{ (Loss-} G) < ea \text{ (Pal.} \\ \text{Diph.)} < \bar{æ} < a \end{array} \right\}$	OHG. ingagan

ēo

cēosan, <i>choose</i>	ēo < eu	Go. kiusan (§ 113)
gēomor, <i>sad</i>	ēo (Pal. Diph.) < ō (Infl.- N) < W. Germ. ā < { Germ. æ	OS. jāmar
scēop, <i>created</i>	ēo (Pal. Diph.) < ō	Go. gaskōp
scēofan, <i>shove</i>	ēo (Pal. Diph.) < ū	I. skūfa
mēowle, <i>girl</i>	{ ēo (Infl.-W) < e (Mut.) < { æ < a	Go. mawilō
fēolan, <i>penetrate</i>	ēo (Loss-H) < eo (Brk ^s) < e	Go. filhan (§ 113)
cnēowes, <i>of a knee</i>	ēo < eu (Infl.-W) < e	OHG. knewes
sēon, <i>see</i>	ēo (Contr.) < e	Go. saīhwan
gēo, <i>formerly</i>	{ ēo (Pal. Diph.) < ū (Length ^s) { < u	

īe

cīest, <i>chooses</i>	īe (Mut.) < iu	Go. kiusip
hīeran,	īe (Mut.) < ēa < au	Go. hausjan
cīese, <i>cheese</i>	{ īe (Mut.) < ēa (Pal. Diph.) { < æ < W. Germ. ā	OHG. kāsi
wīelisc, <i>foreign</i>	{ īe (Loss-H) < ie (Mut.) { ea (Brk ^s) < æ < a	OHG. walhisc
sīe, <i>be</i>	īe (Contr.) < i	Go. sijái
friend, <i>friends</i>	īe (Mut.) < īo (Contr.) < i	Go. frijōnds

īo

ðion (ðēon), <i>thrive</i>	īo (Contr.) < ī	OS. thihan
friōnd (frēond), friend	{ } īo (Contr.) < i	Go. frijōnds

CONSONANTS.

164. Anything like a full treatment of the history of the OE. consonants is beyond the scope of this book. Some changes that they undergo have been referred to in the preceding pages: in some cases, nothing need be added to what is there said; in a few others, it will be a gain to collect similar phenomena. This is done under the headings: I. Loss; II. Assimilation; III. Metathesis; IV. Doubling; V. Verner's Law.

I. LOSS.

165. (i) The simplification of double consonants is the rule at the end of a word. In inflected forms it is sufficiently dealt with in the Accidence.

(ii) Loss of medial *g, h, j, m, n,* and *w*, leading to Contraction and Compensatory Lengthening, is fully treated in the sections on the Sound-Laws.

(iii) *W* is usually lost when final.

(a) After a short vowel it is vocalised to *u*, and the two vowels form a diphthong: **trew > *treu > trēo*, tree; but it is apt to be restored from the oblique cases: *trēow*.

(b) After a long vowel it remains in some words, disappears in others: *sē*, sea; *hrā*, corpse; *snāw*, snow; but here again it is often restored from the inflected forms: *hrāw*.

(c) After consonants *w > u*: *bearu*, grove; which was lost, according to the usual rule (§ 9), after a long syllable: *mēd*, meadow.

Besides the loss in Contraction, medial *w* disappears in a number of words, of which the following will serve as examples: negative forms of *wasan* (be), *witan* (know), *willan* (will): *næs*, etc.; *tū*, neut. of *twēgen*, two; *betux* \propto *betwux*, between; *giered*, past of *gierwan*, prepare.

II. ASSIMILATION.

166. The following cases are worthy of note :

(a) *d* > *t* before and after a voiceless consonant : in the 2nd and 3rd sing. indic.^c of verb^c, and in the past tenses of weak verbs of Class I. (§§ 69, 88); and in *blētsian*, bless (cp. *blōd*), etc.

(b) *ð* > *t* in the 2nd (*rīdest* < *rīdesð* < *rīdes* *ðū*) and 3rd sing. pres. indic. (§ 69); in *ðætte* (< *ðæt* *ðe*), that (conj.); *ēaðmēttu*, humility; *gīemeliest*, neglect, etc.

(c) *ðs* > *ss* in *bliss*, joy, *liss*, grace; cp. *blīðe*, joyous, *līðe*, gentle.

(d) *sr* > *ss* in *lāssa*, compar. of *lýtēl*, little; *ðisse*, *ðissa*, in the declension of *ðes*, this.

III. METATHESIS.

167. The only metathesis that need be mentioned here is that of *r*, which is somewhat frequent, especially before *nn* and covered *s*: *burna* (< **brunna*), spring; *bærnan* (< **brannjan*), burn (trans.); *bi(e)rnān* (< **brinnan*), burn (intrans.); *i(e)rnan* (< *rinnan*), run; *berstan* (< **brestan*), burst; *ðerscan* (< **ðrescan*), thresh; *hors* (< **hross*), horse; *gærs* (< **gras*), grass, etc.

IV. GEMINATION.

168. The W. Germanic gemination before *j* has been referred to in the Accidence. After a short vowel every consonant, except *r*, was doubled before *j*; subsequently this *j* mutated the root vowel, and then dropped. Hence such forms as those of the "weak presents" (§ 80) of Classes V. and VI., and many other words :

hebban, raise	hliehhan, laugh	scieppan, create
reccan, relate	tellan, tell	cnýssan, thrust
hreddan, rescue	frēmnan, perform	settan, set
bycgan, buy	dyn(n), din	scēððan, injure
hrycg, back	wennan, accustom	

V. VERNER'S LAW.

169. An interchange of consonants is seen in the parts of all contracted strong verbs and of some other strong verbs, the explanation of which must be sought in the Germanic period. Primitive Germanic *f, h, þ¹, s* (<Indo-Germ. *p, k, t, s*), remained unchanged only when the vowel next preceding bore the principal accent; otherwise, i.e. if the vowel next preceding did not bear the principal accent of the word, *f, h, þ¹, s > v, g, ǿ¹, z*. In Late Germanic, as in OE., the principal accent fell on the root-syllable; but in the Primitive Germanic period the accent might fall on any syllable. This fact is illustrated in the strong verbs, in which the present forms and the past sing. indic. had the principal accent on the root-syllable, whereas all the other past forms had the principal accent on the ending. Therefore the present and the past sing. of strong verbs retained the voiceless spirants *s, þ¹, h, f* (= OE. *s, ǿ, h, f*), which in all the other past forms became *z, ǿ¹, g, v* (= OE. *r, d, g, f*). This law was discovered and formulated by Karl Verner of Copenhagen in 1875, and has never been questioned since. Its operation is often referred to by the ambiguous term "grammatical change."

OE. has not separate symbols for the sounds of *f* and *v*, and therefore the changes that are explained by Verner's Law can only be seen in the interchange of the following pairs of consonants:

- (a) *s* : *r*
- (b) *ǿ* : *d*
- (c) *h* : *g*
- (d) *h(w)* : (*g*)*w* or *g(w)*

The verbs that come under this law and those in which the law fails have been indicated in the Accidence; therefore only a few examples are needed here.

¹ Here *þ* and *ǿ* are used with their proper phonetic value, *þ* voiceless (=th) and *ǿ* voiced (=dth).

APPENDIX.

I. FORMATION OF ADVERBS.

170. Adverbs formed from Adjectives usually end in *-e* and are identical with the instrumental sing. of the adj.:

<i>adj.</i>	<i>adv.</i>	<i>adj.</i>	<i>adv.</i>
dēop	dēope, <i>deeply</i>	blīðe	blīðe, <i>blithely</i>
lōng	lōnge, <i>long, far</i>	clāne	clāne, <i>clean</i>
swīð	swīðe, <i>strongly, very</i>	dēoplic	dēoplice, <i>deeply</i>
wīd	wide, <i>widely</i>	glædlic	glædlice, <i>gladly</i>
nearu	nearwe, <i>narrowly</i>	heardlic	heardlice, <i>severe</i>
hlātor	hlātre, <i>brightly</i>	sōðlic	sōðlice, <i>truly</i>

NOTES. (1) In the last four examples, the simple adjs., *dēop*, *glæd*, *heard*, *sōð*, are also found. Hence *-lice* came to be regarded as an adverbial termination, was added to adjs. that had not forms in *-lic*, and finally, in the Middle English period, supplemented the less distinct adverbial ending *-e*. Exs.:

blīðe	blīðlice, <i>joyously</i>
rōt	rōtlice, <i>gladly</i>
sweotol	sweotollice, <i>clearly</i>

(2) Three adjs., which are *i-* or *j-* stems, have therefore mutated vowels, whereas the advs. keep the original vowel:

sēfte	sōfte, <i>softly</i>
smūðe	smōðe, <i>smoothly</i>
swēte	swōte, <i>sweetly</i>

171. The oblique cases of adjs. and nouns are used adverbially.

(1) Accusative (neut. of adj.):

eall, <i>entirely</i>	ealne weg, <i>always</i>
full, <i>fully</i>	ðā hwile (ðe), <i>while</i>
genōg, <i>enough</i>	norð, <i>north</i>
lȳt(el), <i>little</i>	norðweard, <i>northwards</i>
hwōn, <i>somewhat</i>	ūpweard, <i>upwards</i>

(2) Genitive:

ealles, <i>altogether</i>	dæges, <i>by day</i>
nealles, <i>not at all</i>	nihtes, <i>by night</i>
hāmweardes, <i>homewards</i>	niede(s), <i>needs</i>
norðweardes, <i>northwards</i>	ðyncces, <i>willingly</i>
	ungewealdes, <i>involuntarily</i>

and even compounded with a preposition :

tō-middes, *in the midst*

(3) Dative (Instr.), sing. and pl. :

elne, <i>courageously</i>	hwilum, <i>sometimes</i>
fācne, <i>excessively</i>	hwiltidum, <i>sometimes</i>
hwēne, <i>somewhat</i>	wundrum, <i>wondrous(ly)</i>
miclum, <i>very</i>	floccmælum, <i>in troops</i>
	styccemælum, <i>piecemeal, here and there</i>

172. Other adverbial terminations are -a and -unga (-inga) :

gēara, <i>of yore</i>	ānunga, <i>once for all</i>
sōna, <i>soon</i>	eallunga, <i>altogether</i>
tela, <i>well</i>	ierringa, <i>angrily</i>
tuwa, <i>twice</i>	grundlunga, <i>from the foundations</i>
ðriwa, <i>thrice</i>	

173. The chief *adverbs* of place are :

Rest	Motion towards	Motion from
<i>hēr, here</i>	<i>hider</i>	<i>heonan</i>
<i>hwær, where?</i>	<i>hwider</i>	<i>hwōnan</i>
<i>ðær, there</i>	<i>ðider</i>	<i>ðōnan</i>
<i>inne, innan, within</i>	<i>in(n)</i>	<i>innan</i>
<i>ūte, ūtan, outside</i>	<i>ūt</i>	<i>ūtan</i>
<i>uppe, uppan, up, above</i>	<i>ūp</i>	
<i>ufan, above</i>		<i>ufan</i>
<i>neoðan, beneath</i>	<i>niðer</i>	<i>neoðan</i>
<i>foran, fore, before</i>	<i>forð</i>	
<i>hindan, behind</i>	<i>hinder</i>	<i>hindan</i>
<i>feorr(an), far, afar</i>	<i>feor(r)</i>	<i>feorran</i>
<i>nēah, near</i>		<i>nēan</i>
	<i>norð, north</i>	<i>norðan</i>
	<i>sūð, south</i>	<i>sūðan</i>
	<i>eāst, east</i>	<i>ēastan</i>
	<i>west, west</i>	<i>westan</i>

II. PREFIXES.

174. The following are the principal OE. prefixes, with selected examples.

ā-: (1) unstressed form of *or-*, away, and then merely intensive: *āfaran*, to depart; *ārisan*, to arise; *ābēodan*, to order.

(2) weakened from *on-*: *āweg*, away.

(3) shortened from *āwa*, ever, 'any-': *āhwær*, anywhere, every where (§ 62).

æ-, a privative prefix, 'without': *æmōd*, discouraged; *æswind*, idle.

æf, rare stressed form of *of-*, 'off, from': *æfweard*, absent; *æfðigne*, grudge.

æfter-, 'after': *æfterboren*, posthumous; *æfterfylgend*, follower.

æg- (< **agi-*), 'every-': *æghwær*, everywhere (§ 62).

æt-, 'at, from': *ætwillan*, to twit; *ætsgmne*, together; *ætminan*, to take away.

be-, unstressed form of *bī-*, 'by, about':

(a) specialises the meanings of transitive verbs: *besettan*, to beset; *besēcan*, to beseech.

(b) makes intrans. verbs transitive: *bescīnan*, to illuminate; *berīdan*, to encompass.

(c) privative: *bedælan*, *belīsan*, *benāman*, *beniman*, *bescierian*, *besnyðian*, to deprive of.

(d) without assignable force: *bebōdan*, to command; *bescūfan*, to shove.

bī-, 'by' (see *be-*): *bīleofo*, sustenance; *bīspell*, example.

ed-, 're-': *edlēan*, reward; *ednīwian*, to renew.

for-: (1) earlier unstressed form *fer-*, same origin as prep. *for*; denotes loss, destruction; intensifies; deteriorates; negatives:

fordōn, to destroy

forgiefan, to forgive

forweorðan, to perish

forbærnan, to burn up

forwyrd, destruction

fretan (<*for-etan), to devour

forspillan, to destroy

forsēon, to despise

forġān, to forgo

forswerian, to swear falsely

forgietan, to forget

forbōdan, to forbid

(2)=the prep. *for*: *forstōndan*, to defend; *forfaran*, *forrīdan*, to intercept.

fore-, 'fore-': *forecweðan*, to foretell; *foreðgnc*, forethought; *foremære*, very great.

ge-: (a) originally=together (L. *cum*), as in *gefēre*, company; *gefēgan*, to fit together (§ 62).

(b) makes intrans. verbs transitive, often with the added notion of attainment, gain, success: *gewinnan*, to win, cp. *winnan*, to fight; *geærnan*, to gain by galloping, cp. *ærnan*, to gallop; *geūscian*, to learn by asking, hear of.

(c) initial inflection of past participles: *gebiden*, *gelūcod*.

(d) very often without assignable meaning: *gebōdan*, to order; *gebedhūs*, chapel.

in-, 'in': *inggng*, ingress; *infyrðian*, to invade.

*mid*¹, 'with': *midwyrhta*, cooperator.

¹ *Mid* frequently = 'mid-' as in *midwilt*, but can then hardly be regarded as a mere prefix.

mis-, 'mis-': *miſlānpan*, to go wrong; *miſdæd*, misdeed.

n-, negative prefix: *nis*, is not; *nān*, none.

of-, unstressed form of *æf-*, which it almost entirely displaced:

(a) originally=off: *ofspring*, offspring; *ofſlēan*, to smite off; *ofteon*, to withhold.

(b) intensive: *ofſtingan*, to stab (to death); *ofſtorſian*, to stone to death.

(c) makes intrans. verbs trans., often specialising the meaning:

ofsittan, to oppress

offeallan, to fall upon

offaran, to overtake

ofðyncan, to displease.

ofer-: (a)=over: *oferſtāgan*, to surmount; *oferſwīðan*, to overpower; *oferſpræce*, loquacious.

(b) with negative force: *ofergietan*, to forget; *oferſittan*, to abstain from.

on (an)-: (1) unstressed form of *ond-*, denotes reversal, change:

onlūcan, to unlock

onwindan, to unwind

onhlīdan, *onlȳnan*, to open

onwēndan, to change, upset

(2)=the prep. 'on':

onwinnan, to assail

onliehtan, to illuminate

onsittan, to occupy

onſlāpan, to fall asleep

onælan, to ignite

ongēan, against.

(3) often without assignable meaning: *onginnan*, to begin.

ond (and)-, stressed form of *on* (Greek ἀντί), back: *ondwyrd*, answer.

or-, stressed form of *ā-* (1); see § 104 N.

oð-, 'away': *oðfeallan*, to fall off; *oðhealdan*, to keep back.

ſqm (sam)-, 'together': *ſqmwist*, a living together.

sōm (sām)-, 'half': *sōmwīs*, stupid; *sōmworht*, half-made.

tō-: (1)=earlier *te-*, L. dis-, 'asunder': *tōbregdan*, *tōslitan*, to tear to pieces; *tōfaran*, *tōfēran*, to disperse.

(2)=*tō* (prep.): *tōgēanes*, towards; *tōcyme*, arrival; *tōweard*, future.

ðurh-, 'through': *ðurhteon*, to accomplish.

un-: (a)='un-': *unrōt*, sad; *uncūð*, unknown; *ungewisses*, unconsciously.

(b) pejorative: *untȳder*, evil progeny.

under-, 'under': *understgndan*, to understand.

won-, 'un-': *wonhāl*, unhealthy; *wonsælig*, unhappy.

wið-, 'with-, against': *wiðstgndan*, to withstand; *wiðfeohend*, adversary.

wiðer-, 'against, re-': *wiðerslita*, *wiðerwinna*, opponent, adversary; *wiðerstal*, resistance.

ymfo (ymbe)-, 'around': *ymbstittan*, invest; *ymbesgnc*, reflection.

III. SUFFIXES.

175. The principal OE. suffixes (except adverbial, see §§ 170—3) are here given in one list in alphabetical order. Some of the suffixes included existed also as independent words in OE., and might more correctly be regarded as forming compounds; but compounds pass into derivatives in the course of time, and it has been thought better to err, if at all, on the side of inclusion.

-að (oð), noun masc., abstract: *fiscað*, fishing; *huntoð*, hunting.

-bære, adj., 'bearing': *wæstm̃bære*, fruitful; *lustbære*, desirable.

-cund, adj. denoting nature: *godcund*, divine; *heofoncund*, heavenly.

-dōm, '-dom,' noun masc., usu. abstract: *frēodōm*, freedom; *læcedōm*, medicine.

-els, noun masc.: *byrgels*, tomb; *rēcels*, incense.

-en (1), noun neut., sometimes dimin.: *cliewen*, sphere; *cycen*, chicken.

-en (2), noun fem., often a person: *gyden*, goddess; *byrgen*, tomb.

-en (3), adj. of material etc.: *gylden*, golden; *hæðen*, heathen.

-(e)nd, noun masc., agent: *āgend*, owner; *Scieppend*, Creator; *frēond*, friend.

-ere, '-er,' noun masc., agent: *bōcere*, scribe; *fiscere*, fisher; *god-spellere*, evangelist.

-ern, noun neut., 'house': *horsern*, stable; *blācern*, lantern.

-erne, '-ern,' adj., local: *norðerne*, northern.

-estre, '-ster,' noun fem., person: *webbestre*, spinster; *witegestre*, prophetess.

-ettan, verb: *licettan*, to feign.

-fæst, '-fast,' adj.: *stedefæst*, steadfast; *scymfæst*, shamefast.

-feald, '-fold,' adj.: *mōnigfeald*, manifold; *ðritigfeald*, thirtyfold.

-full, '-ful,' adj.: *cearfull*, anxious; *synnfull*, guilty.

-hād, '-hood,' noun masc., abstract: *cildhād*, childhood: *mægdenhād*, virginity.

-ig, '-y,' adj.: *hālig*, holy; *mōdig*, proud; *welig*, wealthy.

-iht, adj.: *heoruhōciht*, savagely barbed; *hrēodiht*, reedy.

-ing, noun masc.; (a) patronymic: *æðeling*, prince; *Æðelwulfing*, son of Ethelwulf.

(b) without assignable force: *ierming*, poor wretch; *hæring*, herring; *scilling*, shilling.

-isc, '-ish,' adj.: *Englisc*, English; *wielisc*, foreign; *cildisc*, childish.

-lāc, '-lock,' noun neut., abstract: *feohlāc*, fighting; *wedlāc*, wedlock.

-læcan, verb: *nēalæcan*, to approach; *ðristlæcan*, to embolden.

-lēas, '-less,' adj.: *gīemelēas*, heedless; *rēcelēas*, reckless.

-lic, '-ly,' adj.: *gōdlic*, goodly; *wīftlic*, womanly; *unāberendlic*, intolerable; *ungeseewenlic*, invisible.

-liet (lēast), '-lessness,' noun fem., abstract: *gīemeliet*, negligence; *slæplēast*, sleeplessness.

-ling, '-ling,' noun masc., dimin., or denoting affection or contempt: *ðeorling*, darling; *geongling*, youth; *hýrling*, hireling.

N.B. On bæcling, on hinderling, *backwards*.

-mōd, '-minded,' adj.: *ēaðmōd*, humble-minded.

-nes, '-ness,' noun fem., abstract: *gōdnes*, goodness; *forsewennes*, contempt.

-ol, adj.: *sticol*, rough; *swicol*, deceitful.

-ræden, noun fem., abstract: *mæggræden*, relationship; *gecwedræden*, agreement; *mōnræden*, homage.

e, '-ric,' noun neut.: *bisceoprice*, bishopric; *cynerice*, kingdom.

-scipe, ‘-ship,’ noun masc., abstract: *fr̥ōndscipe*, friendship; *hwætscipe*, boldness.

-sian, verb: *bl̥tsian*, to bless; *cl̥ānsian*, to cleanse.

-stafas, noun masc. pl., abstract: *ārstafas*, favour; *fūcēnstafas*, treachery.

-sum, ‘-some,’ adj.: *wynsum*, winsome; *lōngsum*, tedious.

-tīeme, adj.: *hefigtīeme*, grievous; *ṡwēortīeme*, perverse.

-ṡ(u), ‘-th,’ noun fem., abstract: *strengṡ(u)*, strength; *fāhṡ*, hostility.

-u (preceded by mutated root-vowel), noun fem., abstract: *hālu*, health; *mēnigu*, multitude.

-ung (ing), ‘-ing,’ noun fem., abstract: *bl̥tsung*, blessing; *mīltsung*, mercy.

-weard, ‘-ward,’ adj., local and temporal: *norṡweard*, northward: *tōweard*, future.

-wende, adj.: *hālwende*, healthy; *hwīlwende*, transitory.

-weorṡ, **wierṡe**, ‘-worthy,’ adj.: *ārweorṡ*, venerable; *tālwierṡe*, blameworthy; *untālwierṡe*, blameless.

-wīs, adj.: *rihtwīs*, righteous; *ungescēadwīs*, unintelligent.

